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Frontispiece

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George Bancroft.

OXENFOORD CASTLE

J. Robertson Sculp.

MEMOIRS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
IRELAND;

FROM THE

Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament of CHARLES II. till the Capture of the French and Spaniſh Fleets at VIGO.

A NEW EDITION, IN THREE VOLUMES;

With the APPENDIXES Complete:

Conſiſting chiefly of

LETTERS from the FRENCH AMBASSADORS in ENGLAND to their COURT; and from

CHARLES II. JAMES II. King WILLIAM, and Queen MARY, And the MINISTERS and GENERALS of thoſe PRINCES.

Taken from the Depôt des Affaires etrangeres at VERSAILLES, and King WILLIAM's private Cabinet at KENSINGTON.

Interſperſed with HISTORICAL RELATIONS, neceſſary to connect the Papers together.

By Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE, Bart.
BARON OF EXCHEQUER IN SCOTLAND.

VOL. I.

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MDCCXC.

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NEW YORK

TO

THE MEMORY OF

CHARLES YORK,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND;

THESE MEMOIRS of a Country ſo dear to him while he lived, and of a Period when that Liberty was eſtabliſhed, which it was the chief Object of his Conduct to ſupport, are dedicated by one, whoſe Senſe of his Friendſhip and Virtues will ceaſe only with

with Life; and who, alas! once little thought, that this Teſtimony of Veneration would be all the Tribute of Gratitude left in his Power to render to the moſt exalted of Minds and the kindeſt of Hearts.

ORIGINAL PREFACE

TO

That Part of the MEMOIRS which ends with the BATTLE off LA HOGUE.

THE following Memoirs were undertaken by the advice of the Perſon to whoſe memory they are inſcribed. He uſed to call himſelf a fugitive from the muſes: And indeed, amidſt his vaſt variety of buſineſs, he ſtill ſacrificed to them in ſecret. He adviſed me alſo not to truſt to printed books for materials, but to get acceſs to original papers. I followed advices which to me had the authority of commands, becauſe they were always kind, and always juſt; and I procured materials in England, Scotland, and France, far ſuperior to what any ſingle perſon has hitherto been able to obtain.

I am nevertheleſs conſcious that they are not equal to the dignity of the ſubject. There are ſome family-memoirs in London of great authority, which I wiſhed much to have ſeen; but it

required a train of ſolicitation to get acceſs to them, to which no man of common pride could ſubmit.

Notwithſtanding the advantages I have had, I found myſelf under great difficulties in giving a Review of the reign of Charles II. becauſe that Prince made mere tools of his miniſters, and even of his brother. The beſt key to the ſecrets of his reign lies in the diſpatches of Barillon the French ambaſſador, which are in the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangeres* at Verſailles. Mr. Stanley gave me a letter of introduction to the Duc de Choiſſeul, in expreſſions which did honour to him who wrote it. Lord Harcourt and Mr. Walpole, conſidering the cauſe of letters to be the cauſe of England, ſeconded my requeſt. The Duc de Choiſſeul, with that liberality of ſentiment which diſtinguiſhes almoſt every Frenchman of high rank, gave directions that I ſhould have copies of the papers I wanted. But Monſ. Durand, in whoſe cuſtody they were, having been, laſt ſummer, ſent miniſter to Vienna, I have not yet received the papers; and in the mean time, as I have been very careleſs in giving away copies of the Memoirs to which that Review is now prefixed, ſome of theſe have been loſt. It is uſual for men to urge the fear of their works being pirated, as an affected excuſe for their publiſhing at all: But, in my caſe, it is really a juſt one for publiſhing before this Review

Review was as complete as I wiſhed to have made it.

I have generally quoted the papers, of which I have either the originals or the copies in my poſſeſſion; others, I mean thoſe of king James, although of the higheſt authority of all, I have not quoted, becauſe I have no extracts. Since the firſt edition of the Memoirs was publiſhed in Scotland, I have fortunately fallen upon a collection of papers in London, which vouch almoſt all the new facts that are to be found in them. The papers I mean are thoſe of the late Mr. Carte, now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Jernegan, who married his widow. They conſiſt of very full notes, extracted from the memoirs of James the Second, now in the Scots College at Paris, written by that Prince's own hand, and of many original ſtate-papers, and copies of others of the court of St. Germains. The extracts from the memoirs are in Mr. Carte's hand-writing, and he had an order for all theſe different papers from the Stuart family. I could have eaſily made a ſecond volume of the papers in my hands; but am not fond of taxing the public for what only the curious in the hiſtory of their country care to read. However, if the public expreſs any deſire to ſee them, they ſhall ſtill be publiſhed; and, if I receive Barillon's diſpatches ſoon enough, they ſhall be printed with the reſt.

Every man who keeps good company, and does not combat every one he meets about his political principles, muſt hear many circumſtances from men of different parties, which are not to be found in printed books, relative to a period ſo late and ſo intereſting as that of which I have endeavoured to give an account; and theſe anecdotes are often better founded than facts which have been publiſhed. For a lie may live for a day, or a year; but it will hardly paſs from father to ſon for near a century. In the courſe of my inquiries, I have often found a current report, of which no one can tell the origin, authenticated by a number of original papers. Some circumſtances, therefore, which are in the mouths of all, although in no one's library, I have introduced into theſe Memoirs; where I did ſo, I have often expreſſed it; where I have not, it has ariſen from an inattention which, perhaps, may be excuſed in one who writes only when he cannot better employ or amuſe himſelf.

In order to give variety to the narration, and to avoid making reflections myſelf, I have often thrown what people thought, into what they ſaid. This, though warranted by the example of almoſt all the ancient hiſtorians, and the greateſt of the moderns, may, in this age, give an appearance of infidelity to the narrative. But I flatter myſelf a reader of taſte will eaſily perceive a diſ-

a diſtinction. When the words are contained in a ſentence or two, they are thoſe which, were actually ſpoken: When they run into length, the writer is in part anſwerable for them.

I have been told, that I ſhall draw enmities upon myſelf from the deſcendants of ſome great families, whoſe actions I have repreſented in colours belied by the principles and actions of their poſterity; and that it was not to be expected, that a man of a whig family ſhould have been the firſt to expoſe to the public the intrigues of the whig-party at St. Germains.

I am ſenſible, that here I tread upon tender ground. Every man who treats of party-matters in Britain, muſt expect to make enemies on the one ſide or the other. And I truly believe I ſhall make enemies on both ſides. But this is a price which we muſt all pay for our liberty; and God grant that it may long continue ſo. Yet, perhaps, I may find quarter from thoſe who conſider that I treat of my own anceſtors, ſurely not the moſt inconſiderable in the united kingdom, as well as of theirs whom I may be ſuppoſed to offend; that I have an equal reverence for mine, as they can have for theirs; but that I have a much greater reverence for truth than for either. The firſt perſon who told me that there was evidence exiſting at Paris of the whig-intrigues with St. Germains immediately after the revolution, was Mr. Hume. After I had ſatisfied myſelf that his

his information was juſt, I told the great perſon by whoſe advice I undertook theſe Memoirs, that I had ſeen too much, and that I was afraid I muſt quit the ſubject. But his ideas of the regard which an hiſtorian owes to what he believes to be truth, ſhewed me the meanneſs of my own fears.

Some perſons have complained to me, that, in the ſecond part of this work, I ſpeak too favourably of King James; I gave them this anſwer, That, though I would draw my ſword againſt his family, I would not do injuſtice to any of their characters; and that I lived under a Prince who will not think the worſe of his ſubjects for avowing ſuch ſentiments.

I was obliged for ſome new views of my ſubject to that ſtore of original genius which animates the converſation of Lord Elibank. Mr. Hume corrected ſome erroneous views I had taken; appearing more anxious about my literary reputation than I am myſelf. I would return my thanks to ſeveral other of my friends for their corrections of the ſtyle, were I not afraid to make them anſwerable for the faults that have eſcaped them. Yet Lord Littelton, Dr. Smith, and Dr. Blair of Edinburgh, will pardon my mentioning their names, becauſe they called my attention to that pictureſque ſimplicity and choice of circumſtances, which diſtinguiſh the hiſtorical compoſitions of the ancients; beauties, which, if I have not been able to imitate, I am ſure I feel.

ORIGINAL PREFACE

TO THE

VOLUME of STATE PAPERS annexed to the MEMOIRS, and which are contained in the PRESENT EDITION.

THE papers contained in this collection are ſo very intereſting, that the Public has a right to know from what ſources they are drawn.

His Majeſty gave orders that I ſhould have acceſs to the cabinet of King William's private papers; juſtly conſidering hiſtory to be the ſcience of kings, and willing that the actions of other princes ſhould be tried by that tribunal of public inquiry, which, he has reaſon to truſt, will do honour to his own.

Among many other papers in that cabinet, which throw a blaze of light upon the hiſtory of the laſt age, there are about two hundred letters from King James to the Prince of Orange. There

There is one conſiderable chaſm in the correſpondence, but this is luckily filled up by about fifty letters from the king to the prince, in the poſſeſſion of doctor Morton of the Muſeum, who, with his uſual politeneſs, permitted me to take copies. I believe that in theſe two collections there is not one letter wanting that King James ever wrote to the Prince of Orange.

The earl of Hardwicke, from a partiality to me which I cannot be ſo affectedly modeſt as to conceal, gave me copies of ſeveral curious manuſcripts from the treaſures of hiſtorical knowledge in his poſſeſſion.

The earl of Dartmouth communicated to me, with other papers, a collection of letters between his gallant anceſtor and King James, which, with memoirs of Bing, lord Torrington, in manuſcript, that I received from lord Hardwicke, will, I believe, throw a new light upon the ſhare which the officers of the fleet had in the revolution, and of the wiſe and honourable part which the commander of it acted.

Mr. Graham of Netherby was ſo obliging as to permit me to keep in my hands, for many months, five volumes of his anceſtor lord Preſton's diſpatches.

The reverend doctor North gave me the uſe of a variety of manuſcript memorandums, written by

by his anceſtor, lord keeper Guildford; one of the very few virtuous characters in public life, I am ſorry to ſay it, that are to be found in the hiſtory of the reign of Charles the ſecond.

Lord Rochford accommodated me with orders for copies of whatever public papers I wanted. For, attached to his prince, and a friend to that liberty, the love of which is inherent in the family of Naſſau, he wiſhed to ſee juſtice done to a revolution, in the conduct of which his anceſtor acted ſo able a part; and which, by making the people ſafe, gave room for loyalty to the prince to become a virtue in the ſubject.

I have been obliged for papers to ſeveral other perſons, whoſe names will be ſeen when the papers are recited.

But, perhaps, the perſon to whom I owe the greateſt obligations of all, is doctor Douglas *, canon of Windſor; becauſe he made me maſter of the uſe of thoſe materials, which others only furniſhed. I know that he, who ſees all men's merits but his own, will impute this avowal to the partiality of a friend; and when he does, he will flatter me greatly.

Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, I ſtill felt an uneaſineſs, which only thoſe who are intent

* Now Biſhop of Carliſle.

upon a literary purſuit, can form any idea of; at not being able to diſcover the cauſes of many of the irregular movements of Charles the ſecond and his parliaments: for which reaſon I fulfilled, laſt ſummer, the promiſe I had made two years ago to the Public, and went to France, as ſoon as I heard monſieur Durand was returned from his miniſtry at Vienna, to try if I could find thoſe cauſes in the diſpatches of the French ambaſſadors who had been in England during that reign. The duc d'Aiguillon, with that liberality of ſentiment which becomes the miniſter of an illuſtrious nation, and from reſpect to lord Rochford, who had recommended me to him, renewed the order which the duc de Choiſeul had formerly honoured me with, for copies of whatever papers I wanted. Perhaps, for the ſake of that philanthropy which is the firſt of human pleaſures, I have reaſon to repent of my curioſity. But I will not anticipate the reader's pain; he will ſee too ſoon, in reading the following papers, the mean motives which actuated the prince, his miniſters, and, at different periods, the whig, and the tory alike.

Monſieur Durand will permit me to thank him in public, for treating me in all my reſearches at Verſailles, rather with the kindneſs of a friend, than with the civility which aſſociates in the cauſe of letters are accuſtomed to expect from each other.

From

From comparing the notes which I took in France, with the copies of the papers ſent me from thence, I find, in ſome inſtances, a difference in the dates between us, owing, probably, to my overſight; but in all other reſpects, the copies agree with the notes.

In the notes to the firſt volume, there are many papers referred to, which are in public libraries or public offices. I have not printed theſe, becauſe the curious may have acceſs to them in thoſe places.

I am happy to hear that there is a probability of Mr. Jernegan's ſoon printing the late Mr. Carte's notes, from King James's papers in the Scotch college at Paris †, and that the originals of theſe notes are to be ſecured, at his death, to the univerſity of Oxford; becauſe they will vouch ſuch facts in the firſt volume, as there are no vouchers for in this. The public cannot get a more important acceſſion to the hiſtorical knowlege of the period to which they relate.

Some of the following papers contradict facts contained in the firſt volume; the truth of which I believed on the credit of other publications. This would be a mortification, if truth, according to the beſt of my abilities to find it out, was not my firſt object. Whoever corrects the relations of hiſtory, by the private letters of thoſe

† They have ſince been publiſhed.

who were the actors of the times, will learn, at every ſtep as he advances, to diſtruſt the opinions of others and his own.

However diſagreeable this publication may be to the deſcendants of many of thoſe mentioned in it, the extent of which I fully feel, becauſe I have the honour to live in friendſhip with ſeveral of them; I flatter myſelf it will be uſeful to this country now, and to poſterity afterwards, in the following reſpects:

1ſt, The diſcoveries made in theſe papers will lead men in public life to reflect, that however they may hope to hide their want of public virtue, in a pretended attachment to the intereſts either of loyalty or of liberty, the day of reckoning will ſooner or later come, when, in the hiſtoric page, their true characters, and motives of action, will appear. But men, acting in free ſtates, cannot have too many terrors hung out to controul them; becauſe, in ſuch ſtates as the virtues of men are greater than in others, ſo likewiſe are their vices.

2dly, The papers will ſhow that when a king of England does not give a generous credit to the affections of his ſubjects, and the people of England do not put an honourable confidence in their prince, both king and people muſt be unhappy and inglorious. Perhaps too, this reflection may ariſe from the peruſal of them, that the

the defences which the friends of liberty do not ſcruple ſometimes to throw around her, are more dangerous to her intereſts than all the aſſaults of her enemies.

3dly, Although the preſent exaltation of England, above all other nations, juſtifies a contempt of the ſuppoſition of other nations meddling at preſent in her domeſtic concerns; yet ſhould this ſituation ever alter, poſterity may learn, from theſe papers, that the prince who intrigues with foreigners againſt his people, does it at the peril of his crown; and that when the ſubjects intrigue with foreigners againſt their prince, they ſtake their liberties on the caſt.

4thly, Which I mention with pain, this publication will ſhow that there is no political party in this country which has a right to aſſume over another from the merit of their anceſtors, it being too plain, from the following papers, that whigs and tories, in their turns, have been equally the enemies of their country, when their paſſions and their intereſts miſled them.

And laſtly, which I mention with pleaſure, theſe papers will prove, far better than has ever hitherto been done, that the revolution was a work of the moſt abſolute neceſſity; and that all parties, whig, tory, churchman, and diſſenter, alike united in the great and generous effort to

ſave

ſave that bleſſed conſtitution, which by *their* dangers *we* enjoy.

Perhaps a peruſal of the following papers may be of uſe even to that foreign nation to whoſe politeneſs I am indebted for ſo many of them. There is much reaſon to believe, that French intrigue and French money firſt fomented thoſe religious commotions in Scotland, which, in the reign of Charles the firſt, were the true ſprings and cauſes of the civil war in England. The following papers will ſhow, that by French intrigue and French money, the oppoſition of the whig party in parliament to Charles the ſecond was ſupported. Yet the diſturbances in the firſt of thoſe periods, by giving liberty to England, and in the laſt of them, by keeping the ſpirit of it alive, laid the foundation of a grandeur, which has ſince proved ſo fatal to that nation which created them. France encouraged James the ſecond in all his follies about arbitrary power and popery; but this gave the throne of England, and the command of one half of Europe, to her mortal enemy. After the revolution, ſhe often tried to rouſe Scotland againſt England; but this only taught both countries to make their intereſts inſeparable, and their ſtrength double, by the Union. In our day, in attempting to pull down the houſe of Auſtria, ſhe raiſed up a more formidable opponent to herſelf; in creating diſturbances againſt England in America, ſhe loſt regions

regions as large as one half of Europe; and in extending thoſe diſturbances to Aſia, ſhe paved the way for the enemy whom ſhe meant to annoy, to gain a kingdom as rich, as extenſive, and as populous as her own. A miſchievous nation is like a miſchievous man, both may make all their neighbours uneaſy for a while, but both will be the dupes of their own miſchief in the end. It is fortunate for the intereſts of human nature, and for thoſe of the people I ſpeak of, compoſed as they are, of an ingenious and induſtrious commonalty, and of a learned and gallant gentry, that they have at laſt changed their ſyſtem, and do not any longer conſider their own happineſs to conſiſt in making all their neighbours unhappy.

In a country in which the paſſions of every individual are ſtrong, becauſe his ſpirit is high, and in which all take a ſide in politics, becauſe all ought to take it, I preſume that thoſe who do not like me, or ſome of the following letters, will do me the honour to ſay that they are publiſhed with party views: if this be ſo, I am certainly a very unfortunate party man, and this a very unfortunate party book; becauſe I am not ſure that I ſhall gain either of the two great parties in this kingdom; and if they judge with leſs candour than I have done, I am afraid I ſhall loſe both; yet one ſide will permit me to aſſure them, that when I found in the French

diſpatches lord Ruſſel intriguing with the court of Verſailles, and Algernon Sidney taking money from it, I felt very near the ſame ſhock as if I had ſeen a ſon turn his back in the day of battle.

THE

THE

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APPENDIX to CHAP. III.

N° I. Letters from Barillon to the French court, concerning the differences which the marriage of the Princeſs of Orange created between Louis and Charles, and the intrigues of Barillon with the popular party in parliament — 178—193

upon a literary purſuit, can form any idea of; at not being able to diſcover the cauſes of many of the irregular movements of Charles the ſecond and his parliaments: for which reaſon I fulfilled, laſt ſummer, the promiſe I had made two years ago to the Public, and went to France, as ſoon as I heard monſieur Durand was returned from his miniſtry at Vienna, to try if I could find thoſe cauſes in the diſpatches of the French ambaſſadors who had been in England during that reign. The duc d'Aiguillon, with that liberality of ſentiment which becomes the miniſter of an illuſtrious nation, and from reſpect to lord Rochford, who had recommended me to him, renewed the order which the duc de Choiſeul had formerly honoured me with, for copies of whatever papers I wanted. Perhaps, for the ſake of that philanthropy which is the firſt of human pleaſures, I have reaſon to repent of my curioſity. But I will not anticipate the reader's pain; he will ſee too ſoon, in reading the following papers, the mean motives which actuated the prince, his miniſters, and, at different periods, the whig, and the tory alike.

Monſieur Durand will permit me to thank him in public, for treating me in all my reſearches at Verſailles, rather with the kindneſs of a friend, than with the civility which aſſociates in the cauſe of letters are accuſtomed to expect from each other.

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In the notes to the firſt volume, there are many papers referred to, which are in public libraries or public offices. I have not printed theſe, becauſe the curious may have acceſs to them in thoſe places.

I am happy to hear that there is a probability of Mr. Jernegan's ſoon printing the late Mr. Carte's notes, from King James's papers in the Scotch college at Paris †, and that the originals of theſe notes are to be ſecured, at his death, to the univerſity of Oxford; becauſe they will vouch ſuch facts in the firſt volume, as there are no vouchers for in this. The public cannot get a more important acceſſion to the hiſtorical knowlege of the period to which they relate.

Some of the following papers contradict facts contained in the firſt volume; the truth of which I believed on the credit of other publications. This would be a mortification, if truth, according to the beſt of my abilities to find it out, was not my firſt object. Whoever corrects the relations of hiſtory, by the private letters of thoſe

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ſcripts of the laws of a Saxon Prince, and a Saxon great council.

Power of the crown upon the conqueſt.

Upon the Norman invaſion the ſubjects of William loſt not their freedom even in conqueſt; an event which, in moſt nations, has been as fatal to the liberties of the conquerors, as of the conquered. That Prince and his immediate ſucceſſor governed indeed by the ſword, becauſe they had a conqueſt to maintain; and they often trampled upon both the Saxons and the Normans; becauſe theſe nations, ſtanding on terms of mutual ſuſpicion and hatred, were more afraid of each other than of the ſovereign. Yet ſeparately the Saxons and Normans endeavoured to pull down the power of thoſe princes by inſurrections, the unproſperous events of which only ſhewed the weakneſs of thoſe who oppoſed, not their reſignation to the will of a maſter: And united, they procured declarations of their joint liberties in parliament, from that monarch who had conquered the kingdom *.

But, after the reigns of the two firſt Norman Princes, the Saxons and Normans, reſpecting their common origin and common rights, united their intereſts, and made the great charter † an original condition of the ſettlement of the crown upon Henry I. an inſtrument of liberty which, by means of parliaments, eſtabliſhed the political, and of juries, the civil rights of the citizens; and which, by ſubjecting to the laws, and to the laws only, their property, their perſons, and their honour, conferred badges of diſtinction upon Engliſhmen, unknown to the citizens of Rome and of Sparta.

Declenſion of the

The ſtruggles of their poſterity to get this charter renewed, which, although confirmed above thirty times by

* Lord Littleton, vol. I. with the authorities he refers to.
† Ibid.

by different Princes, was ſeldom renewed without compulſion, and their attempts to extend it, kept the flame of liberty alive. But the ſubjects jealous and bold, laid hold of almoſt every advantage which accident preſented, to depreſs that ſovereign power which the great charter was only meant to controul. power of the crown ſoon after.

In the breaches of royal ſucceſſions, ramparts were formed for the defence of the people: The conceſſions which had been gained from the crown, during the reign of Henry the Firſt, who had a diſputed ſucceſſion to maintain, were extended in thoſe of Stephen, of John, of Henry IV. and of Richard III. who were in ſimilar ſituations. How effectuated.

Advantages were in the ſame way taken of domeſtic diſſentions in royal families, particularly of thoſe which took place between Henry I. and his brother the Duke of Normandy, and between Edward II. and his family. But the deſigns of Prince John againſt Richard I. were not abetted; becauſe the nation pitied and reſpected the misfortunes of a hero, who had carried the glories of the Engliſh name over moſt of the known globe.

Only four minorities of Princes have happened in the Engliſh government, in the courſe of ſeven centuries; for that of Edward V. was ſo ſhort, as not to deſerve being brought into the account. Yet the opportunities were ſeized upon the acceſſions of Henry III. Richard II. Henry VI. and Edward VI. with all the readineſs of factions, which had been accuſtomed to a minority upon the change of every ſucceſſor.

The ambition of great Princes is generally exerted at the expence of the freedom of thoſe whom they govern. But the Engliſh, by indulging the ambition of Henry I. and II. of Edward I. and III. and of Henry V. againſt the liberties of other nations, derived ſecurity to their own. Parliaments ſeldom ſpared the treaſures of the peo-

ple, and the people never their blood, when they knew that the price paid for both, by the neceſſities of the Sovereign, was the continuation of the privileges of their countrymen.

The ſubject was ſatisfied to find occaſions, whether in the weakneſſes or in the crimes of human nature, to reſtrain the power of the crown, even by degrading the perſon of him who wore it. Edward II. and Richard II. were formally depoſed by parliament. The ſame aſſembly refuſed to permit Richard Duke of York to ſit down upon the throne, although he came with the intention to do ſo into their houſe, but appointed him regent over his and their Sovereign. Parliamentary commiſſioners were impoſed upon John, Henry III. Edward II. and Richard II. In the civil wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, parliaments acknowledged the titles of the rival princes alternately, according as victory declared for the one or the other; pleaſed in the ſucceſſive changes of royal families to gain ſucceſſive advantages for the people. Monarchy itſelf was trod down in the perſon of Charles I.

But, when the ſceptre was ſwayed by able, daring, and fortunate hands, parliaments had recourſe to regular and conſtitutional defences, adhering to the laws, and tempering liberty with loyalty. By ſuch conduct, the haughty Edward I. was obliged, after every art of ſubterfuge, to confirm the great charter. In the reign of his martial grandſon, the law of high treaſon, the moſt important of all laws in a conſtitution which admits, that, in ſome caſes, the ſubject has a right of reſiſtance, was defined and circumſcribed with a preciſion unknown among other nations; and laws were repeatedly made * for the calling of annual parliaments; a ſecurity for the people which was not obtained, either when monarchy was

* 4 Ed. 3. cap. 14. 36 Ed. 3. c. 10.

was deſtroyed under Charles I. nor when liberty was enthroned at the revolution.

The zeal for independence was not confined to the laity. Langton Archbiſhop of Canterbury was at the head of the nobles *, who maintained the firſt great ſtruggle for *Magna Charta* againſt King John. After the ſame act of ſecurity had by the aid of the biſhops and abbots been extorted from his ſon †, they ſtood around it, with burning tapers in their hands, whilſt it was read in parliament, and denounced curſes againſt thoſe who ſhould infringe it. They concurred with the laity in moſt of their attempts to humble their princes. And Stratford, Archbiſhop of Canterbury ‡, in defence of thoſe parts of the great charter which protected his own order, placed himſelf at the head of his clergy, in regular oppoſition to Edward III. a Prince who could ill brook oppoſition to his will.

Spirit of civil freedom in churchmen.

The united ſpirit of laymen and churchmen roſe equally againſt eccleſiaſtical tyranny. The prelates, as well as the nobles, ſtood by William Rufus and Henry I. ‖ againſt the uſurpations of Anſelm. Both diſclaimed their allegiance to King John, becauſe he had given his to the Pope. If the church did not concur with the parliament, in ſupport of the conſtitutions of Clarendon, which were intended by Henry II. as an eternal barrier to the encroachments of Rome §, it was becauſe theſe conſtitutions ſtruck not only againſt the power of that ſee, but againſt the power and juriſdiction of the Engliſh church. In the reign of Henry III. the dignified clergy refuſed to ſubmit to taxes impoſed upon them by the Pope, although ſubmiſſion was recommended by the King ¶: And the biſhop

Common ſpirit of freedom in the laity and clergy againſt the church of Rome.

* Hume, in the reign of K. John. † Ibid. in the reign of Henry III. ‡ Ibid. in the reign of Edward III.

‖ Hume, in the reigns of theſe Princes. § Lord Littleton, vol. 1. p. 72. et ſeq. ¶ Hume, in the reign of Henry III.

biſhop of London exclaimed upon this occaſion, "That, "if the mitre was taken from his head, he would clap a "helmet in its place." The parliaments * of Edward I. and III. of Richard II. and of Henry IV. and VI. were inceſſant in their expreſſion of zeal, for maintaining the independence of their church upon that of Rome. As early as the reign of Henry IV. †, the houſe of commons petitioned the King to ſeize the temporalities of the church. The firſt reformer in Europe was Wickliffe, an Engliſhman. Henry VIII. in concurrence with the inclinations of moſt of his prelates, his nobles, and his people, threw off entirely the yoke of foreign eccleſiaſtical bondage.

The clergy of England may juſtly boaſt, that, while the churchmen of other countries, during the reigns of popery, were either aiding the King againſt the people, or the Pope againſt both; they ſupported the people againſt the former, and both againſt the latter.

Abolition of ſlavery.

It muſt not be forgotten, that the love of freedom, which could not be controuled by the higheſt, ſtooped in mercy to the loweſt conditions of mankind. That ſtate of villenage, which in other countries required the force of laws to aboliſh it, diſappeared without the aid of compulſion, in a country where the rights of human nature were reſpected, becauſe thoſe of the citizens were revered.

Cauſes of the declenſion of royal power.

The gradual diminution of the power of the crown was chiefly the effect of three cauſes.

No ſovereign power can ſupport itſelf long, which has not the command of treaſure and of arms. But, during

Firſt political cauſe, the want of treaſure

ſeveral centuries after the reign of Henry II. the Engliſh princes poſſeſſed neither. The natural progreſs of the feudal ſovereignty is to impoveriſh the ſovereign; becauſe, as all the ſubjects are his vaſſals, almoſt every ſubject

* Hume, in theſe reigns.

† See the authorities in Hume, in Henry IV.'s reign.

ſubject who approaches the King has a favour to aſk, and every favour granted is at the expence of the crown. Although the poſſeſſions of William the Conqueror were originally very extenſive in England; yet, in the courſe of his reign, he diminiſhed them greatly *, by gifts to his followers, in order to attach them to the fortunes of his family. His three immediate ſucceſſors, who were prodigal in their tempers, and who had diſputed ſucceſſions to maintain, imitated with much leſs diſcretion his example. Henry II. indeed recalled the grants of his predeceſſor; but he was obliged to receive them back with a ſparing hand. He likewiſe † introduced the practice of exchanging the military ſervices of his vaſſals, for equivalents in money; a ſtriking proof of the neceſſities to which he was reduced. The revenues of Henry III. and Henry VI. did not amount to 60,000 pounds a year. Thoſe of intermediate princes could not be larger. The loſs of the French provinces under Henry VI. diminiſhed the royal wealth; becauſe, while the expences of defending them had been defrayed by the nation, the profits they yielded had accrued to the crown. Queen Mary's revenue, after all the depredations of her father and grandfather, amounted only to 300,000 pounds. Thoſe of Queen Elizabeth and James I. notwithſtanding the increaſe of trade, and conſequently of the cuſtoms, did not produce above 150,000 pounds more. The legal revenue of Charles I. upon which he was obliged to ſupport all the national expence, and his own, did not exceed 700,000 pounds ‡. Hence the extortions of ſo many of the old Princes upon the Jews, of Henry VII. upon his ſubjects, and of his ſon upon the church. Hence the various attempts of kings to raiſe money without the aid of parliament;

* Hume, ii. 115.

† Lord Littleton, vol. 1. with his authorities.

‡ Hume, in theſe reigns.

liament; and which parliaments ſometimes overlooked, from their conſciouſneſs of the neceſſity which called for them. Hence the exceſſive attention of Queen Elizabeth to œconomy, which ſhe well knew could alone keep her independent of parliament; and the ſale of almoſt all the lands of the crown by her ſiſter, herſelf, and her ſucceſſor. Hence the neceſſities of the two firſt princes of the Stuart race created the firſt grounds of jealouſy between them and their ſubjects. And hence, when with a rougher hand than lawful princes had uſed, Cromwel raiſed two millions a year from the people, he gave a ſplendour to uſurpation, which monarchy had not for many centuries enjoyed.

Second political cauſe, want of arms.

Princes without wealth cannot expect that armies will implicitely obey them. The feudal militias, which, at the command of their Lords, flocked to the ſtandard of the King, were ready at the ſame command to turn their ſwords againſt him. When the ſucceſſors of Henry II. followed his example, in taking money from their vaſſals, in lieu of military ſervice, they loſt the reſource even of thoſe militias. Standing armies took not the poſts around the throne, which the military tenants had quitted: For, Britain being defended by the ſea, her princes had not the ſame pretence with thoſe of the continent for maintaining ſtanding forces to protect their dominions againſt foreign attacks. Temporary armies alone were therefore employed in time of war: But theſe, from their nature, defended the perſon, without ſecuring the authority of the ſovereign. Hence, in every war ſince the reign of Henry II. which Engliſh Kings have maintained againſt their parliaments, or even againſt any great body of their nobles, they have always been unſucceſsful. Hence, when the long parliament endeavoured to wreſt from Charles I. the command of the national militia, the only defence remaining with the crown, the torch which had been

been only lighting before, was inſtantly ſet to the war: And hence Cromwel, with fifty thouſand ſoldiers at his back, kept in awe the moſt turbulent of nations, in the moſt turbulent of periods.

To theſe cauſes we muſt add the ſmall extent of the kingdom, to which Wales, Scotland, and the northern counties, did not originally belong. In realms of moderate extent, the intereſts and injuries of all are known to all; the paſſions are communicated like fire from breaſt to breaſt; the correſpondence of chiefs and of parties is exact; they can form or conceal their reſolutions without danger; the people who are to execute them can be aſſembled in an inſtant; and the ſovereign who invades the rights of his ſubjects, does it at the hazard of his own. Thoſe ties, which for many centuries bound almoſt every ſubject of Spain and of France to his neighbour, in oppoſition to arbitrary power, were diſſolved when all the ſeparate provinces of thoſe kingdoms were formed into two vaſt empires of unconnected citizens. Natural cauſe, extent of the kingdom.

The ſtruggles againſt ſovereign power, during a long period of the Engliſh government, were maintained almoſt ſolely by the nobles and prelates; becauſe the ancient conſtitution of England, like that of all other feudal governments, was a monarchy limited by an ariſtocracy alone. In the reign of the Conqueror, all the lands of England which belonged not to the Sovereign, were the property of 700 of his vaſſals. Theſe making an aſſembly nearly as numerous * as the preſent houſe of Lords and Commons united, had a right to ſit in parliament; and, together with the biſhops and abbots, were the only perſons who enjoyed that privilege. By the conſtitution of the kingdom, the King could not levy taxes, without their conſent: By their military tenures, the ſword was Power of nobility.

* Hiſtory of feudal property, chap. 8.

in their hands: The feudal arrangements gave them jurisdictions upon their eſtates, which extended to property of the higheſt value, and to life. In proceſs of time, what Kings loſt, their vaſſals often gained; and, as the crown waxed weaker, they grew more ſtrong.

Fall of the power of the nobility.

But the progreſs of a feudal monarchy does not move in a more uniform direction, in yielding to the power of the nobility, than that of a feudal ariſtocracy, in giving way to the rights of the people. All nobles, from their ſuperiority of rank, are expoſed to expences in time of peace, which impair their eſtates; and they ruin themſelves in war, paying, by what they ſuffer in their fortunes, for the laurels which they gain in the field. The grandeur and hoſpitality of the antient nobility of England were unparalleled in Europe. In foreign wars, they increaſed the ſplendour of their appearance, with a view to augment the ſuperiority of their country in the eyes of foreigners. The loſs of the French provinces under Henry the VI. tended likewiſe to exhauſt the eſtates of the Engliſh nobles *; becauſe, the habit of an expence to which they had been accuſtomed, while they enjoyed the revenues of thoſe provinces, remained, after the means of ſupporting it no longer exiſted. Even in the common courſe of the partition of eſtates by ſucceſſion, the power of great families came to be leſſened, by being divided. The ſame exemption from military ſervice, which the Kings had ſold to their vaſſals, the nobles ſold likewiſe to theirs. The nobility, however, ſtill endeavoured to preſerve the ſhadow of their former ſtrength in the number of their retainers. But they were ſoon obliged to quit even that ſhadow, partly by the riſe of the arts in Europe, which gave a new direction to the expences

* This is an obſervation of the wiſe Philip de Commines.

expences of the great; and partly by the jealouſy of Henry VII. who multiplied laws againſt retainers. In the civil wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, to which 80 princes of the royal blood fell victims, the antient nobility of England was almoſt exterminated; and the new nobility, created from time to time to prevent the order itſelf from expiring, had neither the dignity nor the pride of the old barons by tenure. The reformation leſſened both the number of the eccleſiaſtical Lords in the houſe of peers, and the importance of thoſe who remained. Henry VII. and Henry VIII. took a pleaſure* in invading the juriſdictions, and humbling the pride of the great families. Their miniſters and favourites were moſtly new men, ſelected from the profeſſions of the law and the church: There were only two of the order of nobility in the firſt council of Henry VIII. and ſeven out of twenty-ſix guardians, whom the ſame Prince provided for the minority of his ſucceſſor, Henry VII. removed the laſt ſecurity which remained to the nobles, by facilitating the deſtruction of their entails; truſting thus the fate of the higheſt order of his kingdom to the effects of diſſipation and chance in ages to come.

Cauſes of the riſe of the commons.

That power which had originally belonged to the crown, and afterwards to the nobles, fell in the end imperceptibly into the hands of the commons. Various cauſes contributed to this, beſides the firſt great cauſe, the high ſpirit of the people, indignant of ſervitude, and, by their love of independence and juſtice, deſtined to be free.

1ſt cauſe. --The power of the ſword paſſes into their hands.

When the military tenures went generally into diſuſe, the ſword of the people, hitherto employed to aggrandize the King or the nobles, became an inſtrument of power and conſideration to the hand by which it was held.

* Hiſt. of feudal property, cap. 7.

held. The feudal militias were, in the reign of Henry V. * exchanged for national arrays. And on these were ingrafted afterwards the national militias: Both, bodies of men composed, not of military tenants and their vassals alone, but in which every freeman grasped a sword who had strength to wield it, and in which all men transferred to their country those attachments which their forefathers had felt only for the persons of those who commanded it. These arrays and militias gave the more strength to the people, because they were introduced in times, when the military spirit flew from man to man, and from rank to rank, in the nation; before the occupations of industry had become so incessant, as to make freemen deem it an infringement of their freedom, to be obliged to defend themselves; and before the regularity of standing forces had thrown a false ridicule upon the man who should pretend to wield both a hammer and a musket.

2d cause. ---They get free laws,

From the civil wars of the Princes with their barons, and of the Princes with each other, the commons derived importance; for whatever were the titles of the great, the swords of the many determined the contest. But while, in similar disputes in other countries, the multitude found the only rewards of victory in its pleasure, the commons of England insisted for more solid advantages as the price of their blood. In every law of liberty extorted by the nobles, or freely granted by Kings, to serve the ends of either, the commons, courted on all sides, were made sharers of the blessing.

and free judgements.

Free judgements followed free laws. In order to curb the power of the barons arising from their territorial jurisdictions, the crown raised the dignity of the national courts of justice. The barons at first saw the importance of

* Hume, 325.

of the innovation: For, in order to weaken the connection between the King and thoſe courts, they provided, in the great charter, that the courts ſhould be ſtationary, and not follow his perſon, as they had anciently done. But by degrees they ſubmitted, partly becauſe they were conſcious of their incapacity to give proper attention to proceedings of law in their own courts, and partly becauſe they looked upon ſuch attentions as inconſiſtent with their dignity. But, as the truſt thus voluntarily repoſed in the national courts depended long for its continuance upon the integrity of the judges, and uniformity of their judgements, a ſyſtem of equal juriſprudence gradually aroſe, which, by binding the King, the noble, and the peaſant alike, maintained the independence of the lower ranks upon the higher.

3d cauſe. ---By induſtry they get wealth. Interior cauſes of induſtry.

The enfranchiſements of the boroughs, which were originally almoſt in a ſtate of ſlavery, the diſuſe of villenage, and the ſuppreſſion of retainers and of monaſteries, threw two great bodies of induſtrious, and two great bodies of idle men, who before had ſcarcely been members of the community, into the ſcale of the commons. But wherever men enjoy freedom, and ſee wealth held up to them as the reward of their induſtry, they will ſpring forward to gain it. During theſe innovations, the higher ranks at home were fond of expence, and the arts were riſing all over Europe: England was full of inhabitants and proviſions; many inſtruments of commerce, and ſome which other nations poſſeſſed not, were produced within herſelf; ſhe was ſurrounded by the ſea on all ſides but one; replete with harbours and rivers; and her neareſt neighbours, the Flemings, the moſt induſtrious people on this ſide of the Ganges, were a continual example of envy and imitation: In this ſituation, when new ranks were gradually thrown into the ſociety, and preſſed upon the old, both were obliged to exert an induſtry in huſbandry, manufacture,

manufacture, and trade, without which neither could have ſubſiſted.

External cauſes of induſtry.

While theſe cauſes were operating upon the growth of induſtry at home, accidental circumſtances from abroad completed the effect of them. The ſeverities of Charles V. in Spain, the Netherlands, and Germany, partly on civil, and partly on religious accounts, and ſtill more the religious perſecutions, which, after his time, took place in France, the Netherlands, and Germany, induced vaſt numbers of foreign manufacturers to import their arts, their ſtocks, and their parſimony, into a country in which they could enjoy both liberty and their religion. Theſe emigrations had the greater effect, becauſe they happened at a period, when the flux of treaſures into Europe from the new world gave additional incitements to the induſtry of the lower, and to the prodigality of the higher ranks of mankind.

The extenſion of commerce produced two immediate and important effects.

One effect of induſtry was to change the property of lands.

In the firſt place, it transferred a great part of the land property of the kingdom to a body of men, who, in the origin of the conſtitution, had hardly any ſhare of land property at all. For, a great part of the money, which the commons acquired by commerce and parſimony, was employed in purchaſing the eſtates of the nobility, of the church, and of the crown, which were thrown gradually into market, from the time of Henry VII. until the end of the reign of James I. This tranſition was the more important, becauſe, it was made at periods when from the high intereſt of money, lands were ſold proportionally low, and when lands, before the arts of improving them were introduced, did not produce one third of the rents which, in the courſe of a century, they came to yield to their new proprietors.

Another

Another consequence of commerce was to draw great numbers of men from the country into towns, for the advantages of mutual intercourse. But the republican form of government in which towns are conducted, the natural equality which takes place among fellow-citizens, the necessity for that security of property which is the basis of commerce, and the continual opportunities and habits which men living in public have to converse upon public interests; all contributed to spread and to fortify the sentiments of liberty. Another was to increase the towns.

The train of causes and effects is as regular in the political, as in the natural world. Political power continually depends upon arms, freedom, and wealth. The commons of England rose in power exactly in proportion as they gained in these. By the feudal constitution, all who held their estates of the crown owed attendance in parliament: And those who held their estates in that manner in England were, as has been said, originally 700 in number. But when, by the partition of the original great estates, and the enfranchisement of boroughs *, the crown vassals were become so numerous, as to be incapable of being personally assembled, they appeared in parliament by their representatives. Parliaments for a long time consisted of the peers, and of these representatives, united in one assembly; and the latter, dazzled with the splendour of their associates, and representing an order which felt not as yet its own weight, were, during this period, of little consequence. But, in proportion as the commons gained importance, their representatives assumed it. And, when these were formed into an assembly separate from the peers, they extended that importance under the advantage of supporting The commons gain parliamentary importance.

* Hist. of feudal property, cap. 8.

ſupporting the intereſts of a ſeparate body. The privileges of the commons became in time the greater object of attention; becauſe, by the partition of the eſtates of the original great vaſſals, in the common courſe of ſucceſſion, a numerous gentry had been formed, all of whom, although many of them had the beſt blood of the nation in their veins, ſunk into the order of the commons, and therefore had an intereſt to defend thoſe rights which were the foundation of their own. It is a curious fact in the hiſtory of Engliſh liberty, that the firſt perſon who was raiſed by the commons to the dignity of their ſpeaker *, was a member who had been impriſoned by Edward III. for attacking his miniſters and miſtreſs in parliament. From the period of that Prince's reign, the houſe of commons regularly increaſed in conſideration and power.

Interruption of national freedom under the houſe of Tudor.

But during the gradual declenſion of the power of the nobility, and the gradual riſe in that of the commons, it was natural, at a period when the one order was weak, and the other knew not as yet its own ſtrength, that the crown no longer oppoſed by either, ſhould enjoy extraordinary powers. During this period, the family of Tudor filled the throne. It was fortunate, too, for Henry VII. the firſt Prince of that family, that, a civil war of thirty years having animated one half of the nation againſt the other, no common oppoſition could be made to his power: Yet even he was taught, by five rebellions, that, though a ſevere prince may ſometimes invade the liberties of a free people with impunity, he cannot do it without danger. His ſon had ſtill greater advantages; becauſe the different religious parties who courted his favour were ſenſible, that the beſt way to obtain it, was to throw their liberties at his feet; and becauſe, by the act of ſupremacy, all the power which had belonged to the pope, was

* Hume, III. p. 5.

was united in his perſon to that of the crown. The reign of this Prince, therefore, afforded the firſt melancholy example, that parliaments may be the worſt inſtruments of tyranny in the hands of a tyrant: Yet, by aiming at too much, he laid a foundation for the crown to loſe all he had gained in its favour. For, in an evil hour for his ſucceſſors, he made the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance a part of the conſtitution of the church: A doctrine utterly incompatible with freedom; and againſt which, therefore, the minds of free men never ceaſed to revolt. England recovered a ray of liberty during the minority of Edward VI. But it ſerved only to make the gloom which ſucceeded in the reign of Queen Mary appear more dark. Yet even that female tyrant was obliged to diſmiſs two of the four parliaments which ſhe aſſembled, becauſe they would not comply with her will, and that of a huſband who was as tyrannical as herſelf. Queen Elizabeth continued to poſſeſs the power of her family, although the commons had now come to feel their own weight, and although the ſpirit of the nation had been exaſperated by multiplied inſults. But many circumſtances prevented that weight and that ſpirit from being exerted againſt her: Her popularity made oppoſition to her power unpopular: Upon the ſupport of that power the proteſtant religion depended for the ſecurity of its own: Men forgot, in their danger from foreign invaſions, the precedents that were eſtabliſhed at home againſt the liberties of their poſterity: Even the circumſtance of the Queen's ſex, with the romantic manners of the age, made her ſubjects confound their ſubjection to a ſovereign, with their gallantry to a woman. By all the arts of woman, added to all the boldneſs of man, ſhe ſtaved off the evil day, which was to bring the power of the crown and that of the commons to try their ſtrength againſt each other.

Struggles for the revival of liberty under the houſe of Stuart.

The Engliſh conſtitution, by ſetting the legiſlative and executive powers in oppoſition to each other, contains the ſeeds of continual diſſention. Political bodies oppoſed are never at reſt; and every deviation from ancient uſage is a ſtep gained, or a ſtep loſt, for prerogative or for freedom: For, few Princes are wiſe enough to know, that no King can be truly great, the minds of whoſe ſubjects are not as high as his own; and few ſubjects are generous enough to acknowledge, that the ſame principles in a limited monarchy, which tie every citizen to another, ſhould bind the whole to the throne. When a new family therefore was advanced to the crown, and from a country long feared and hated by thoſe who beſtowed it; at a time when the powers of the higher orders of the ſtate, thoſe of the nobility and of the church, were fallen; when the crown was poſſeſſed of power only recently obtained, depending only upon the imaginations of thoſe who had been accuſtomed to obey, but without wealth or arms to ſupport it; and when the commons poſſeſſed a great part of that ſuperiority in all things which belonged formerly to the nobility, the church, and the King; the effects of the alterations which had happened in the conditions of the orders of the ſtate quickly appeared: And that appearance could not fail to be attended with convulſions in the conſtitution; becauſe old principles of government could not apply to new ſituations in the governors and the governed. When James I. adviſed his nobles to live upon their eſtates, and not about court, when he created peerages with a ſeemingly prodigal hand, for which he has been fooliſhly blamed, when he ordered twelve chairs to be placed for a deputation of the houſe of commons, becauſe he ſaid, "twelve Kings were at hand," he ſaw the tempeſt that was approaching. The houſe of commons aſſumed to themſelves powers and privileges unknown to their anceſtors; and, when they were provoked

by

by their monarchs, aimed their blows in the end at the monarchy: And the Princes of the Stuart family, who ſaw the only orders of the ſtate humbled, which had been accuſtomed to controul royal power, but who did not attend that another order had ſtepped into their place, conſidered even the aſſertions of ancient liberty, as innovations in the conſtitution, when the commons were the aſſertors.

Circumſtance in the conſtitution which led to extremes between the houſe of Stuart and the commons.

An accidental circumſtance in the Engliſh conſtitution haſtened matters to extremes between the family of Stuart and the houſe of commons. From the moſt ancient times, the power of providing taxes had been committed to the repreſentatives of the people, becauſe the people were chiefly to pay them: A privilege of little conſequence, as long as the revenues of the crown aroſe from demeſnes and feudal perquiſites, and taxes were, upon that account, ſmall, temporary, and ſeldom levied; and even as long as the crown could ſupport itſelf upon the plunder of France, of the church, of all who would ſubmit to be plundered, and upon its own ruins. But, when all theſe reſources were gone, and government could be ſupported in no other way than by taxes, the power of giving theſe came to be of the laſt importance. And the commons, conſcious of this, demanded, as the price of the money which they gave to the houſe of Stuart, that thoſe breaches which the houſe of Tudor had made in the ancient liberties of England ſhould be repaired. But, as both the crown and the commons rated their demands too low, and their conceſſions too high, diſputes enſued, and contention cloſed the ſcene.

Riſe of parties of Whig and Tory.

During theſe ſtruggles, the nation ranged itſelf into two parties, known in the reign of Charles I. by the names of *Cavalier* and *Round-head*; and, at an after period, by thoſe of *Whig* and *Tory*. The new gentry, the

trading intereſt, the towns, the populace, brought acceſſions of ſtrength to the houſe of commons, but, above all, the Puritans; that body of men, whom the ſame impatience of authority which had raiſed the church of England againſt that of Rome, ſpurred on againſt the church of England; who, taking their riſe from the people, preſerving the equality, ſimplicity, and ruſticity of the people in the ranks of their clergy, and the modes of their worſhip, were averſe even to civil authority; who were more dreadful than other perſons, becauſe they joined the republican ſpirit to that of enthuſiaſm; whoſe aſſociates had ſtirred up civil war, firſt in Germany, then in France, and, laſtly, in the Low Countries; and who were themſelves ready to plunge into it in England and Scotland. Upon the other hand, the peers and prelates ranked themſelves behind that throne which they had been accuſtomed to ſhake; the latter, becauſe the Puritans were equally enemies to the crown and to them; and both becauſe they knew, that, under the ruins of the throne, their own honours could not fail to be buried. The greateſt part of the landed intereſt followed their example; partly from the fear of danger to their property in popular innovations; and partly from that contempt of the populace which landed men always indulge, and that connection with the higher ranks to which they naturally aſpire. The Roman Catholics, knowing that their greateſt enemies, the Puritans, were in the oppoſite ſcale, brought a zealous but inconſiderable addition to the weight of the crown. The antient nobility, in their ſtruggles with their ſovereigns, had ſtopped at depoſing them: But the republican and puritanical commons, with a more democratical ſpirit, brought their Sovereign under the forms of juſtice, like a common member of the community, to a public trial, and a pub-

lic

ſie execution. With the ſame levelling hand, they laid the peerage, the church, the parliament, and the law itſelf, in the duſt.

The civil wars, which accompanied and followed theſe laſt outrages, mark that ſtate of diſorder into which high-ſpirited nations are plunged, before they can accompliſh a regular ſyſtem of liberty, or are ſubjected to a regular ſyſtem of prerogative.

Reflection from the foregoing review.

It is a characteriſtic of Providence, which human wiſdom ſhould not however attempt to imitate, to employ apparent evils for the attainment of real good, and to render diſſenſion, as well as union, beneficial to mankind. The Britiſh nation has made its way through many dangers and troubles: The parties, by which it has been agitated, may have, each in their turns, run to extremes: But the reſult of the whole has been a conſtitution, which by ſecuring to all orders of men the rights of mankind, has never been equalled in any country. Nor is this bleſſing to be valued for itſelf more than for the national vigour and character which have been acquired in the attainment of it. Men are generally formed by their occupations and objects: Accuſtomed to important and perilous occaſions, and engaged in the worthieſt purſuits, thoſe of equal juſtice and freedom, they become, like the ſubjects of Britain, high-minded, capable, and brave. From the continual attention to public affairs, the people have acquired a public and generous ſpirit: From the vigour and confidence of men inured to theſe, and ſecured in their rights, they have derived their ſucceſs in every branch of ſcience, and of every liberal and mechanical art, making manifeſt to all this animating truth, that the genius of nations is always in proportion to their ſpirit. We are too apt to regret as an evil the diſputes and agitations of a free people; forgetting that, man's nature

ture being active, he must continue to act, or cease to exist; or, in the words of one of the greatest of philosophers, "That the lustre which he casts around him, like "the flame of a meteor, shines only while his motion "continues; and that the moments of rest, and of ob- "scurity, are the same*."

* Ferguson's essay on the history of civil society, part v. § 2.

REVIEW

EVENTS AFTER THE RESTORATION.

CONNECTED WITH

THE FOLLOWING MEMOIRS.

THE Papers in my poſſeſſion concerning the events of Charles the Second's reign, prior to the diſſolution of his laſt parliament, relate to three diſtinct periods of time. The 1ſt is from the downfall of lord Clarendon's miniſtry in the end of the year 1667, to the time of the Prince of Orange's marriage, in the year 1677. During this period, King Charles, the Duke of York, and their miniſters, formed connections with France of the moſt dangerous nature to the religion and liberties of the ſubject. The 2d period is from the Prince of Orange's marriage until the downfall of lord Danby's miniſtry in the year 1679. During this period Charles wavered between Holland and France, the duke of York continued ſteady in his courſe, and the popular party in parliament formed connections with France againſt their Princes, of a tendency almoſt as dangerous as thoſe which the Princes had formed againſt their ſubjects. The laſt is from the downfall of the earl of Danby's miniſtry, until the diſſolution

lution of Charles the Second's laſt parliament. During this period, Charles renewed his connections with France, the popular party continued theirs, and France, by a train of policy, perhaps the deepeſt that is to be found in hiſtory, intriguing with both, triumphed upon their common diſgraces. This review ſhould therefore be divided into three chapters relating to theſe three periods. But it is neceſſary to prefix to them a review of events from the Reſtoration to the fall of lord Clarendon's miniſtry; becauſe from the peruſal of the whole connected together, an Engliſh reader may draw this inſtructive leſſon; that the wiſeſt thing a King of England can do, is to reſpect the intereſt of his people, and the wiſeſt thing the people of England can do, is to reſpect that of their Prince.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

From the Reſtoration, until the fall of Lord Clarendon's miniſtry in the end of the year 1667.

Popularity of Charles II.—Revival of parties.—1ſt cauſe, The popular party unite.—2d cauſe, The Royaliſts not united.—3d cauſe, The jealouſies in government.—4th cauſe, Careleſſneſs of the King's perſonal character.—Laſt cauſe, Suſpicions of the popery of the royal family.—Effects of theſe cauſes at the end of the firſt Dutch war.

UPON the reſtoration of Charles II. to the throne of his anceſtors, there appeared in the joy of the nation, not ſo much the common affectation of public, as the effuſion of private paſſion. Men thought all they could do for the ſon was too little in reparation for the murder of the father; and the new Prince, in his gratitude for this cordiality, ſeemed to have forgot the injuries done to both. It was a ſingular ſpectacle, to ſee a parliament, compoſed of many of thoſe members who had torn the crown from the head of their late Sovereign, proſtrate at the feet of the preſent one, imploring pardon in the name of the nation; and the vote for this ceremony

Popularity of Charles II.

ceremony preſented by Denzil Hollis, one of the five members whom the King's father had gone into the houſe of commons to ſeize with his own hands. Several of the popular party were brought into the privy-council, and multitudes into office; three of the moſt noted, Hollis, Anneſley, and Aſhley Cooper, were gratified with peerages; an honour afterwards ill requited by the laſt of them, and forgotten by the other two. Two of the preſbyterian miniſters were made chaplains to the King, and biſhopricks offered to three, though accepted only by one of them. The forts were diſmantled, the army was diſbanded; and for this laſt meaſure the moſt popular of all reaſons aſſigned, "That the beſt "guards which could ſurround a King of England, were "the affections of his people." A project was diſcouraged by Clarendon, for the ſettlement of ſuch a revenue upon the King, as would have made him for ever independent of parliament. Even from enemies and conquerors, Charles and his miniſters borrowed wiſdom; for they attempted not to revive the ſtar-chamber, or the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion-courts aboliſhed by the long parliament; and they imitated the example of the republic in ſuppreſſing the court of wards. Charles privately promoted the ſucceſs of the bill of indemnity in the houſe of commons, and he publicly checked the ſeverity of the houſe of lords, in their proceedings upon it. His miniſter the virtuous Southampton, having propoſed to give thoſe priſoners, who had ſurrendered in obedience to the King's proclamation, the ſame number of days for ſaving themſelves by flight, to which, by that proclamation, they were intitled before they ſurrendered, the nation reſpected his candour and compaſſion, and the King his ſpirit. Sentence of death was executed only upon a few who had pronounced the ſame ſentence upon the late King, or whoſe guilt was equivalent. The moſt cruel

cruel circumſtance in the trial of thoſe perſons * was, that ſeveral of the popular party, of whom Aſhley Cooper was one, ſate as their judges, and doomed them to die for that rebellion to which they had incited them. Attention was ſhewn even to the prejudices of the populace: It was contrived, that the King ſhould make his public entry into London upon his birth-day; and his coronation was delayed near a year, that it might be celebrated upon the anniverſary of the tutelar ſaint of England.

The expreſſions of the King and of his court were calculated to reſtore good-humour to the people, and to reconcile the animoſity of parties almoſt ſpent with contention. To the preſbyterian clergy, who waited upon him in a body, Charles ſaid, "I will make you as hap-"py as I am myſelf." To his parliament, "I will as "ſoon burn *Magna Charta*, as forget the act of oblivi-"on." Clarendon, with a familiarity of expreſſion, derived from the manners of an age in which the diſtinctions of rank had been levelled, told the commons, that, when the King heard any member was diſcontented he uſed to ſay, "What have I done to deſerve this gen-"tleman's diſlike? I wiſh he and I were acquainted, that "I might give him ſatisfaction." The ſame miniſter informed both houſes, "That, when he was ambaſſador "in Spain, he had received ſtrict orders from his maſter, "to lay the late King's murder upon a few of the worſt "of the nation, but to juſtify the nation itſelf." When Charles, in excuſe for ſeeking money from the commons, ſaid to them, "That he could afford to keep no table "except that at which himſelf eat; and that it troubled "him to ſee ſo many of them come to wait upon him "at Whitehall, and go away without their dinners,"

* Ludlow, vol. iii. p. 59.

the juvenile pleaſantry was received with ſmiles of indulgence: But, when he added, "That he was aſhamed not "to have it in his power to provide for thoſe cavaliers "who had been ruined for his father," a nobler feeling aroſe in the breaſts of his hearers *.

To actions and words ſo engaging, the two firſt parliaments of Charles II. during the firſt five years of his reign, made every return that could be expected. They voted him a revenue of 1,200,000 pounds a year; a proviſion, which, though found afterwards inadequate to the expences of government, was the greateſt which any parliament had ever made for any King of England. All coercive power, even in both houſes united, over the perſon of the King, was renounced. With the command of the militia, the power of the ſword was reſtored to the crown. The obnoxious triennial act was repealed, which had made proviſion for the aſſembling of parliament, even without conſent of the Sovereign. An act was paſſed, by which Charles was empowered, during a limited time, to purge corporations of thoſe magiſtrates whoſe principles he ſuſpected. The hierarchy, that great ſupport of monarchy, was replaced in all its grandeur. And the doctrine of non-reſiſtance, a principle ſo dangerous to liberty, though frequently grievous even to its authors, was brought back into the tenets of the church, and confirmed by an oath, required of all her members. So that every advantage which Charles could reaſonably wiſh for, in revenue, in arms, in religion, and in political power, was beſtowed upon him. Only to the King's diſpenſing power, his parliament, even in the height of its loyalty, would not ſubmit. For, when †, in the year 1662, he publiſhed a declaration of indulgence, in which, under many reſerves, he aſſerted the diſpenſing power, and

* Ralph. † Biſhop's trial, p. 782.

and intimated his inclinations to ſoften the more ſevere parts of the penal laws againſt perſons who were not of the eſtabliſhed religion, the houſe of commons informed him that the crown had no ſuch power, and urged him to recal his declaration; and the houſe of lords could be brought no further, than to paſs a bill, which empowered him to make the diſpenſation he wiſhed for; a bill which implied, that without leave of parliament, the King had not the diſpenſing power which he aimed at.

Revival of parties.

Yet, amidſt theſe promiſing appearances between Prince and people, there lurked the fruits of paſt diſſenſions, and the ſeeds of future ones.

1ſt cauſe. The popular party unites.

The ſpirit of liberty, which had been awed by the ſenſe of danger, or had appeared to be ſmothered in the rejoicings of the public, gathered force in ſecret from its interruption. It had been agreed at the reſtoration, that the political pretentions of the executive and legiſlative powers, which had been the ſubject of the war, ſhould be paſſed over in ſilence. Hence the occaſions of conteſt, which had ſubſiſted almoſt from the time of the conqueſt, remained as open as ever between thoſe powers, whoſe movements were now only ſuſpended by their own fears, and by their awe of the ſentiments of the people, to which both were obliged to appeal, when they could appeal to no compromiſe. The friends to the conſtitution were therefore anxious that it ſhould not become worſe, ſince it had been made ſo little better.

Many of the republicans too from nature could not, and others from conſcience would not, relinquiſh their old principles; and, when the republic they adored was no more to be obtained, converted their hatred of monarchy into jealouſy of the monarch.

To theſe two bodies of men, the diſſenters, their antient allies, joined themſelves, partly from a continuation of their original principles, but more from recent enmity;

enmity; for, the preſbyterians complained, that the King, by conſenting to the act of uniformity, the ejection of 2000 of their clergy in one day, and the five mile and conventicle acts, had, at the inſtigation of the church, broken the faith which he had plighted to them at Breda.

ad cauſe. The royaliſts not united.

Even many of thoſe perſons, whoſe natural connections ſhould have bound them to the throne, ranked not behind it, or were unable to give it ſupport. The higher ranks of the nation were thinned by war, or impoveriſhed by forfeiture. Many of their daughters had been married, in times of diſtreſs, to Cromwell's officers, or to the clergy who then prevailed: Many of their ſons had engaged in trade: And all theſe forgot the ancient ſentiments of their families, adopted new ones, and added dignity to them. While the country party, by their conſtant reſidence in England, knew the merit of every pretender to importance, yielded to direction, and acted as an united body in parliament, the cavaliers *, who had been ſcattered all over England and Europe, ignorant of each other's characters, while every man was confident of his own, would not ſubmit their ſentiments or conduct to each other. The competition for royal favour and gratitude, between old and recent ſervices, and between different degrees of ſufferings in the cauſe of royalty, at a time when every man thought his own ſervices and ſufferings the greateſt, tended ſtill further to throw diſſenſion into a party, which diſtreſs had combined, but ſucceſs tore aſunder. Some of the royaliſts † were alarmed even with the loyalty of the nation, being apprehenſive, leſt, in the tide of the King's popularity, the juſt rights of the people might be loſt. Charles's own inattention to too many of the cavaliers who had ſuffered in his cauſe, which

* Clarendon's continuation, vol. I.

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which aroſe partly from his inability to ſerve them, and perhaps, partly from the uneaſineſs which the conſciouſneſs of his obligations to them gave him, loſt him many of that faithful band. It was wittily ſaid, "That the act "of oblivion was an act of pardon for his enemies, and "of oblivion for his friends."

3d cauſe. Jealouſies in government.

The remembrance of paſt, the fear of future evils, infuſed a jealouſy into the government of Charles, which widened the diviſions of his ſubjects, when a more generous conduct would have cloſed them.

The army had, with reluctance, ſubmitted to the order of diſbanding: In the ſullen manner, and frequent meetings of the ſoldiers, before they were brought to the place of diſmiſſion; and, when upon the field, in the fierceneſs of their looks, which were thrown alternately on the King, and on their own ranks; the violent emotions and uncertainty of their ſpirits were diſtinctly viſible. The officers therefore, who, by diſbanding them, had ſubmitted to loſe their own independence, in order to ſecure that of their Sovereign, thought ſome returns of confidence were due to ſuch generoſity. Of a profeſſion to be won by honourable truſt, their pride was hurt in the tendereſt part, when, a few months after, all the diſbanded officers were ordered by a proclamation to depart five miles from London, upon a trifling inſurrection of ſixty Millenarians. They were ſtill more provoked, by finding, in all the accounts of inſurrections publiſhed by authority, their order accuſed as the ſource of them. When the French and Dutch fleets threatened the coaſts of England, and theſe officers preſſed forward beyond others to defend them, their fidelity to laws which they might have overturned was acknowledged, but forgot as ſoon as the danger was over. The ſoldiers too felt the injuries done to their officers. They were fifty thouſand in number, and many of them younger ſons of gentlemen,

gentlemen, and tradeſmen*, whom Cromwell's high pay had induced to enter into the ſervice. So that the diſcontents of the army infected the whole maſs of the people.

The more rigid ſectaries, from being continually ſuſpected, came to deſerve ſuſpicion. When the malecontents threw the blame of burning London upon the Roman catholics, the court, by a mean retaliation, imputed the fatality to the ſectaries. Theſe men were driven to deſpair upon perceiving, in the expreſſions not only of the King's proclamations, but of the laws, which ſhould be the ſacred repoſitories of truth alone, that they and the malecontents were blended together, as if no man could differ from the church, without being a traitor to the ſtate.

Clarendon, whoſe views were narrowed by his profeſſion, and whoſe mind was weakened by his fears, ſpread rumours of plots and inſurrections inceſſantly in parliament and in the nation; thus throwing a gloom over the commonweal, through exceſs of attention to its welfare, and keeping the memory of diviſions alive, which ſhould have been heard of only in their effects. Even from the ſilence of party, he derived proofs of ſedition: "Novum ſeditionis genus" (ſaid he from Livy) "ſilentium otiumque inter cives." "A new kind of "ſedition, ſilence and inaction among the citizens." Mobs were ſwelled into inſurrections, and inſurrections into concerted rebellion. In times of ſuſpicion, all the goals in the kingdom were filled with ſtate priſoners, and even during peace, the court ſwarmed with informers, and the country with ſpies. By ſuch language, and ſuch meaſures, many well-diſpoſed perſons were driven out of the middle courſe, in which they were ſteering, when they

* Whitlock's Swediſh Embaſſy.

they heard that their love of liberty was imputed to their hatred of the court.

The King's manner of living and converſation, which, by expoſing his faults to thoſe around his perſon, reconciled them to their own, gave offence to others at a diſtance, who reflected not how agreeable to the little are the weakneſſes of the great. His amours appeared crimes in the eyes of his ſubjects, who had been accuſtomed to make no diſtinction between vices and crimes. His want of œconomy provoked men, amongſt whom the manners of the age made private parſimony be accounted a virtue. The whig party, at one of their meetings, propoſed to impeach ſome of his miſtreſſes upon account of the poverty in which their extravagance had involved him: But old Lord Mordaunt ſaid, that, "They ought rather to erect "ſtatues to the ladies who made their lover dependent "upon parliament for his ſubſiſtence." * To many he appeared to hold government itſelf in too little reſpect. And a ſaying of his, "That he attended the debates of "parliament, becauſe they diverted him as much as going "to a play," was diſobliging to many, who, in thoſe days could not, without ſentiments of reverence, hear the name of parliament pronounced.

4th cauſe. The careleſſneſs of the King's perſonal character.

But that which above all things made the people uneaſy in themſelves, and jealous of their prince, was their ſentiments with regard to popery. The efforts actually made, and the ſuſpicions that more were continually making by the Roman catholics, to re-eſtabliſh their loſt power, and their forbidden faith, together with the aſſaſſinations and maſſacres encouraged by too many even of their clergy, had filled the minds of proteſtants all over Europe, during more than a century after the reformation, with terrors by day, and dreams by night.

Laſt cauſe. Suſpicions of the popery of the royal family.

* King James's Memoirs.

Elizabeth, whoſe title to the crown was denied by the Pope, whoſe life was in continual danger from the catholics, and who owed her greatneſs, at home and abroad, to her being accounted the head of the proteſtants, urged her parliaments for rigorous laws againſt popery, and, without perſecution, maintained them with firmneſs. But James I. whoſe dangers and ambition were not ſo great, ſlackened the reins, at firſt from ſome liberality of thought derived from reading, afterwards from an inclination of temper to favour whatever the puritans hated, and, in the end, from the vanity of marrying his ſon to a daughter of Spain or France. Charles I. had great obligations to the catholics, and ſuffered for having ſhown his ſenſe of them; circumſtances which, in the minds of many, united his cauſe with theirs, and made them interpret his zeal for the church into a bias for popery. Theſe family-ſuſpicions were accumulated upon the head of Charles II. Even the church dreaded his foreign education, a mother's anxiety, and was jealous of popery lurking in the breaſt of the King and his brother.

Effects of theſe cauſes appear at the end of the 2ſt Dutch war.

In this diſpoſition of the minds of men, war, fire, and peſtilence, the three worſt ſcourges of human life, having been united at the concluſion of the firſt Dutch war, by inſpiring melancholy, affected the tempers of the people of England. The parliament petitioned Charles to diſband his army, attacked his ſervants, declined to give him ſupplies, and drove Lord Clarendon into exile, though his firſt miniſter, and father-in-law to the Duke of York.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From the downfall of Lord Clarendon's miniſtry, until the Prince of Orange's marriage in the year 1677.

Ruling public paſſions of Charles.——His wavering conduct about triple alliance.——Secret intrigue of the Duke of Buckingham and Ducheſs of Orleans for the deſtruction of Holland.—Separate intrigue of Charles and the Ducheſs for the ſame end.——Intrigue of the Duke of York with Popiſh Lords for the ſame end, adopted by Charles.—Secret money-treaty in the year 1670, with Louis, for the deſtruction of Holland, and the King's becoming catholic, concluded by popiſh counſellors.——Charles dupes his proteſtant counſellors in the year 1671, and makes them parties to the treaty, without their knowing the article for his popery.——The King's ſhifts to avoid declaring himſelf catholic.——Firſt viſit of the Prince of Orange to England.——High tone of the King and his proteſtant counſellors after he had duped them.——Bold courſes of theſe counſellors.——They deſert the King.——Lord Danby's miniſtry.——Several money treaties with France——Double dealing and meanneſs of Charles in foreign politics.——His differences with parliament for ſeveral years.

THE

Charles's ruling public paſſions.

THE ruling public paſſions of Charles the II. were love of the French, and antipathy to the Dutch nations, to which many cauſes contributed. His love of France was formed on the natural gaiety of his temper, the hours of youth ſpent in a country where men enjoy all the pleaſures, and appear to feel none of the pains of life, and his partiality to a conſtitution in which it muſt be the fault of the Sovereign himſelf if he ever meets with oppoſition. The manners of the people of Holland, ſo oppoſite to his own, and the form of their government, ſimilar to that which had nearly deſtroyed monarchy in England, created his perſonal diſlike. The affronts which they had put upon the youth of his nephew the Prince of Orange, and the high tone which they aſſumed, and which is natural to all maritime powers, becauſe they can inſult every where with impunity, hurt his pride. He envied the glories of Cromwell, who had humbled the then maſters of the ocean. Neceſſitous from the parſimony of parliament, he hoped to ſupply his wants by the plunder of a people, who at that time were poſſeſſed of moſt of the wealth of Europe. And, by raiſing the Engliſh trade upon the ruins of the Dutch trade, he flattered himſelf, that he might both pleaſe the nation, and increaſe his own revenues by the increaſe of his cuſtoms. A few years after he was reſtored to his throne, he had taken advantage of the national jealouſies of the Engliſh; and, converting the piques of merchants into the quarrels of nations, had engaged England in a war with Holland. During that war, he offered to abandon all Flanders to France *, if ſhe would not interpoſe to ſave Holland from the power of his arms. The ill-humours of parliament, the diſgrace at Chatham, and the junction of France and Denmark with Holland, which gave occaſion for

* D'Eſtrades, 1665.

for an obſervation of Lewis XIV. "That the Engliſh "ſaw no coaſts except thoſe of enemies, from Bergen to "Bayonne," obliged Charles, againſt his will, to deſiſt from that war. Whilſt the peace of Breda, which put an end to it, was forming, Charles was receiving by the hands of Lord Hollis his ambaſſador to the Dutch, projects from a Frenchman, Gourville, (whom Voltaire honours with the title of friend of the Prince of Condé) for a ſtrict connection with France, and for lulling De Wit into a fatal ſecurity, by thoſe perſonal flatteries, which republicans are too apt to take kindly from princes; projects, which Charles, who was the greateſt diſſembler, and the beſt actor that ever ſat on any throne, readily adopted *.

Soon after, indeed, he entered into the triple alliance with Sweden and Holland to protect Flanders from the ſudden pretenſions of Louis XIV. in right of his wife. But before he did ſo, he had privately made advances to France, to prevent his being obliged to enter into that alliance; but they were diſappointed by the circumſpection of the French court, which received them not ſo readily as he expected. The treaty was however no ſooner finiſhed than he wrote apologies for it to his ſiſter the Ducheſs of Orleans, and to Lewis the XIV. And amidſt the rejoicings for the triple alliance, Sir Thomas Clifford, who poſſeſſed more of Charles's confidence than any of his miniſters ever did, betrayed, by an unguarded expreſſion, the ſecret intentions of his maſter: "Notwithſtanding all this joy," ſaid he, "we muſt ſtill have "another Dutch war."

But before Charles ventured, after entering into that alliance, to expreſs in more than whiſpers to Monſieur Rouvigny, who was by accident then in England, the vengeance

Secret intrigue of the Duke of Buckingham

* Vide a full account of this treacherous French intrigue in Gourville's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 14, 65, and 160.

and Duchefs of Orleans for the deſtruction of Holland.

vengeance which he meditated againſt Holland, the Duke of Buckingham, who either was, or thought he was, a favourite of the Ducheſs of Orleans, was carrying on a project, unknown to his maſter, with that Princeſs, for bringing about a ſecret alliance between the two Kings for the deſtruction of Holland. He firſt broached it to Rouvigny, and afterwards carried on the correſpondence with the Ducheſs by means of Sir Ellis Lighton. She deſired him to enter into a communication with Monſieur Comminge the French ambaſſador; but, in order to gain importance to himſelf, by managing the affair with her only, he declined it. On the 23d of January, 1668, Charles had ſigned the triple alliance for the preſervation of Holland: Two letters from Charles to Louis and the Ducheſs of Orleans, in the Depot des Affaires Etrangeres at Verſailles, ſhow, that on the 3d of February, Charles ſent Sir John Trevor ambaſſador to Paris to regulate matters on the footing of that alliance. But from Buckingham's letter to the Ducheſs in the ſame repoſitory, of date 17th February, it appears, that the negotiation between him and her for defeating the ends of it, had, at that time proceeded ſome length.

It was, however, ſeveral months before the ſollicitations of the Ducheſs of Orleans and Buckingham with Charles produced any conſiderable effect. He indeed continued his communications with Rouvigny, and offered a ſecret league offenſive and defenſive, and a perfect participation of meaſures with France. But Louis and he, each diſtruſting that the other would betray the ſecret to the Dutch, heſitated who ſhould make the firſt advance; and Charles ſtood in awe of his people, though he had fatally imbibed an opinion in his exile, that he had an intereſt ſeparate from theirs.

At

At laſt, in the winter of the year 1668, he made a propoſal in writing, by his ambaſſador Lord Hollis at Paris, for a ſecret alliance with Louis. But reflecting upon the danger of entruſting the conduct of a treaty for the deſtruction of a republic, to a man who had drawn his ſword in a republican cauſe, he ſoon after ceaſed to make uſe of the ſervices of Hollis. Unhappy, and irreſolute whom to truſt, he declined treating with Comminge, under pretence that he was a weak man; he deſired his ſiſter to put no confidence in Buckingham, who he thought would abuſe it; and propoſed that the conduct of the treaty ſhould be confined to her and himſelf only. Louis conſented, with that mixture of gallantry and politics in which he conſtantly found his intereſt, while he pretended to ſacrifice the laſt to the firſt; for he had intelligence, that the Ducheſs who poſſeſſed all the beauty and intriguing ſpirit of her mother, had gained the compleat dominion of her brother's ſpirit; that, on taking leave of her when ſhe went to France, he had been ſeen often to weep; and that he had granted every favour which ſhe had at that time aſked for any of his ſubjects.

Separate intrigue of Charles and the Ducheſs for the ſame end.

But Charles's difficulty in finding perſons to truſt with the conduct of the ſecret treaty he intended, was unexpectedly removed by the accident of the converſion of the Duke of York. The ruling paſſion in that Prince's breaſt was zeal for religion. For this, even whilſt a youth and an exile, he had broken through the laws of diſcretion and of nature, by inſiſting that the Duke of Gloceſter ſhould be taken from his mother's arms, to prevent her enticing his youth to the popiſh religion. The Duke's attachment to the Roman catholic religion was the ſtronger, becauſe he believed that it was the reſult of his reaſon: For he had long ſtudied the controverſy, before he ultimately fixed his faith, and was not converted until the beginning of the year 1669.

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enmity; for, the preſbyterians complained, that the King, by conſenting to the act of uniformity, the ejection of 2000 of their clergy in one day, and the five mile and conventicle acts, had, at the inſtigation of the church, broken the faith which he had plighted to them at Breda.

2d cauſe. The royaliſts not united.

Even many of thoſe perſons, whoſe natural connections ſhould have bound them to the throne, ranked not behind it, or were unable to give it ſupport. The higher ranks of the nation were thinned by war, or impoveriſhed by forfeiture. Many of their daughters had been married, in times of diſtreſs, to Cromwell's officers, or to the clergy who then prevailed: Many of their ſons had engaged in trade: And all theſe forgot the ancient ſentiments of their families, adopted new ones, and added dignity to them. While the country party, by their conſtant reſidence in England, knew the merit of every pretender to importance, yielded to direction, and acted as an united body in parliament, the cavaliers *, who had been ſcattered all over England and Europe, ignorant of each other's characters, while every man was confident of his own, would not ſubmit their ſentiments or conduct to each other. The competition for royal favour and gratitude, between old and recent ſervices, and between different degrees of ſufferings in the cauſe of royalty, at a time when every man thought his own ſervices and ſufferings the greateſt, tended ſtill further to throw diſſenſion into a party, which diſtreſs had combined, but ſucceſs tore aſunder. Some of the royaliſts † were alarmed even with the loyalty of the nation, being apprehenſive, leſt, in the tide of the King's popularity, the juſt rights of the people might be loſt. Charles's own inattention to too many of the cavaliers who had ſuffered in his cauſe, which

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which aroſe partly from his inability to ſerve them, and perhaps, partly from the uneaſineſs which the conſciouſneſs of his obligations to them gave him, loſt him many of that faithful band. It was wittily ſaid, "That the act "of oblivion was an act of pardon for his enemies, and "of oblivion for his friends."

3d cauſe. Jealouſies in government.

The remembrance of paſt, the fear of future evils, infuſed a jealouſy into the government of Charles, which widened the diviſions of his ſubjects, when a more generous conduct would have cloſed them.

The army had, with reluctance, ſubmitted to the order of diſbanding: In the ſullen manner, and frequent meetings of the ſoldiers, before they were brought to the place of diſmiſſion; and, when upon the field, in the fierceneſs of their looks, which were thrown alternately on the King, and on their own ranks; the violent emotions and uncertainty of their ſpirits were diſtinctly viſible. The officers therefore, who, by diſbanding them, had ſubmitted to loſe their own independence, in order to ſecure that of their Sovereign, thought ſome returns of confidence were due to ſuch generoſity. Of a profeſſion to be won by honourable truſt, their pride was hurt in the tendereſt part, when, a few months after, all the diſbanded officers were ordered by a proclamation to depart five miles from London, upon a triffling inſurrection of ſixty Millenarians. They were ſtill more provoked, by finding, in all the accounts of inſurrections publiſhed by authority, their order accuſed as the ſource of them. When the French and Dutch fleets threatened the coaſts of England, and theſe officers preſſed forward beyond others to defend them, their fidelity to laws which they might have overturned was acknowledged, but forgot as ſoon as the danger was over. The ſoldiers too felt the injuries done to their officers. They were fifty thouſand in number, and many of them younger ſons of gentlemen,

enmity; for, the preſbyterians complained, that the King, by conſenting to the act of uniformity, the ejection of 2000 of their clergy in one day, and the five mile and conventicle acts, had, at the inſtigation of the church, broken the faith which he had plighted to them at Breda.

2d cauſe. The royaliſts not united.

Even many of thoſe perſons, whoſe natural connections ſhould have bound them to the throne, ranked not behind it, or were unable to give it ſupport. The higher ranks of the nation were thinned by war, or impoveriſhed by forfeiture. Many of their daughters had been married, in times of diſtreſs, to Cromwell's officers, or to the clergy who then prevailed: Many of their ſons had engaged in trade: And all theſe forgot the ancient ſentiments of their families, adopted new ones, and added dignity to them. While the country party, by their conſtant reſidence in England, knew the merit of every pretender to importance, yielded to direction, and acted as an united body in parliament, the cavaliers *, who had been ſcattered all over England and Europe, ignorant of each other's characters, while every man was confident of his own, would not ſubmit their ſentiments or conduct to each other. The competition for royal favour and gratitude, between old and recent ſervices, and between different degrees of ſufferings in the cauſe of royalty, at a time when every man thought his own ſervices and ſufferings the greateſt, tended ſtill further to throw diſſenſion into a party, which diſtreſs had combined, but ſucceſs tore aſunder. Some of the royaliſts † were alarmed even with the loyalty of the nation, being apprehenſive, leſt, in the tide of the King's popularity, the juſt rights of the people might be loſt. Charles's own inattention to too many of the cavaliers who had ſuffered in his cauſe, which

* Clarendon's continuation, vol. I.

† Lord North's memoirs in North's examen, p. 426.

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Charles, in the mean time, gave the line of the treaty to his commiſſioners, which was ſo framed as to correſpond with the former one in all things; except, that in order to comply with the demands of the new commiſſioners, Louis gave Charles a million of livres in hand, and added the iſlands of Worne and Goree to the ſhare which England was to have had in the diviſion of Holland; and to blind them, the article relative to the King's religion was omitted, and the two millions contained in it were thrown into an additional ſubſidy for the firſt year of the Dutch war. But after all things were agreed upon, Louis inſiſted to have a private declaration from Charles, that theſe two millions were in reality the price of his change of religion, and a private confirmation of the treaty of Dover in all things. Charles ſaw the advantage which theſe new demands gave Louis over him, and reluctantly ſubmitted. The treaty was ſigned by Charles on the 2d of February, and by the new commiſſioners on the 3d of June 1671: And in a month afterwards, Colbert ſent to his maſter the ſeparate private declaration and confirmation ſigned by Charles, and thoſe who had been his commiſſioners to the former treaty. Both treaties were helped on by French money, given both to the old and new commiſſioners; and Charles was ſo profligate, as not to pretend ignorance of this circumſtance. But Arlington behaved worſe; for, pretending delicacy, he refuſed the preſent intended for him, but permitted it to be taken by his wife.

Prince of Orange's firſt viſit to England.

In the midſt of negotiations which Charles was carrying on for the deſtruction of Holland, under the pretence, and perhaps in the belief of raiſing his nephew upon its ruins, the young Prince of Orange arrived in England to pay his firſt viſit to his uncle. Charles propoſed that the ſecret of the laſt treaty ſhould be communicated to him; but Louis from prudence refuſed his conſent.

Charles

Charles propoſed to detain his perſon in England, but Loius from honour refuſed his conſent. At that time, theſe Princes little thought, that the youth whoſe intereſts and perſon they were thus diſpoſing of, would in future days ruin the family of the one, and ſtop, in its fulleſt career, the ambition of the other. Britons, who reflect that they owe their preſent religion and liberty to the Prince of Orange, will read with pleaſure the following character, which Colbert wrote his maſter that Charles gave of him at the viſit: "The King of England "is much ſatisfied with the parts of the Prince of Orange. "But he finds him ſo paſſionate a Dutchman and proteſ- "tant, that even although your Majeſty had not diſap- "proved of his truſting him with any part of the ſecret, "theſe two reaſons would have hindered him." It is not impoſſible that ſome diſcoveries made by the Prince of Orange, at this viſit, of his uncle's ſentiments, were the cauſes of that diſtruſt which he retained of him ever after.

The King's ſhifts to avoid declaring himſelf popiſh.

While Charles was duping his proteſtant miniſters, to conceal from them the obligations he was under to change his religion, the ſhifts which he fell upon to get excuſes to the court of France for not performing them, repreſent a true comedy in Colbert's diſpatches at Verſailles. From thoſe diſpatches, the writer of theſe memoirs made the following notes.

"After Charles had ſigned the firſt treaty, ſeveral "months paſs over upon a difficulty on his part in find- "ing a proper perſon to ſend to Rome to manage his "reconciliation with the Holy See. At length on the "29th September, 1670, Colbert writes Monſieur de "Lyonne, that according to orders from France he had "propoſed to Charles that the affair ſhould be conducted "by the Biſhop of Laon, a man of great virtue and cha- "racter, and that Charles had agreed.

"On

"On the 23d October, 1670, Colbert writes Monſieur "de Lyonne, that Charles had changed his mind, and "did not like "a confier ſon ſecret a un Pape moribond; "—to truſt his ſecret to a Pope who was near his end;" "and beſides that it would be proper he ſhould ſend an "Engliſhman with the Biſhop of Laon.

"On the 6th November, 1670, Colbert writes, that "King Charles could not yet find a proper Engliſhman "to go to Rome with the Biſhop of Laon.

"On the 13th November, 1670, Colbert writes, that "he had propoſed to Lord Arlington, that the Biſhop "of Laon ſhould ſet off by himſelf, and Lord Arlington "ſaid he would ſpeak to the King of it.

"On the 17th November, 1670, Colbert writes, that "Charles had at laſt found a proper Engliſhman, but who "was not in England, being head of the college at Do- "way, and that he would ſend him by himſelf without "the Biſhop of Laon; that Charles had promiſed to de- "clare his popery ſoon, but would not fix his time, and "that in the mean time he had made a demand for mo- "ney from France.

"On the 1ſt and 19th of January, 1671, Colbert "writes, that there were delays about the Engliſh cler- "gyman and the form of his inſtructions, and that Char- "les was to truſt the whole affair to one of his own ſub- "jects.

"On the 18th February, 1671, Colbert writes, that "ſtill more delays were made on account of the want of "proper inſtructions to the King's Engliſh clergyman.

"On the 25th February, 1671, Colbert writes, that "the inſtructions to the clergyman having at length been "finiſhed, and Lord Arlington carried them to the King, "he gave for anſwer, that he could neither declare his "popery, nor ſend any one to Rome at this time.

"On the 21ſt March, 1672, Colbert writes, that Charles

"Charles desired a theologian to be sent him from Paris, "to instruct him in the mysteries of the catholic religion, "but that he desired this theologian might be a good "chemist.

"On the 7th June, 1672, Colbert writes that Charles "had put off his conversion till the end of the campaign; "and that in the mean time he desired a treaty with the "see of Rome, in which the Pope should yield, 'le "communion dans les deux especes,' and that mass "should be said in the vulgar tongue."

Chemistry being the study which, of all others, the King was fondest of, and a demand of concessions which it was impossible for Rome to make betraying itself, these two last demands probably opened the eyes of the French, and they troubled him no more on the head of religion.

Charles used the same arts to gain money from Spain. For, from several of Colbert's dispatches at Versailles, it appears, that when Colbert reproached him, for having, unknown to the court of France, sent a clergyman to inform the Queen of Spain of his intention to change his religion, he excused himself by saying, that he had done it to engage her, by the common ties of religion, to take a side against the Dutch.

Sunderland's character.

The ambassador sent to Spain to endeavour to bring about this junction against Holland, was the Earl of Sunderland, then a youth, afterwards so famous for his insinuation and intrigues. Those who are fond of tracing the characters of great figures from their earliest appearances in life, will be amused to see the following character of Lord Sunderland as drawn by Colbert in one of his dispatches. "They assured me that the Earl of Sun- "derland should without fail depart to-morrow to wait "upon your majesty. He is a young gentlemen of high "family, has a great deal of frankness, courage, parts, "and learning, is also extremely well intentioned, (that

" is to France,) and has beſides a great diſpoſition to " make himſelf a Roman catholic." The laſt ſtroke of this character is remarkable. Sunderland was not intruſted with the ſecret of the King's intentions in favour of popery, yet to pay his court ran before them, juſt as in the next reign he went along with thoſe of James, with the ſame view to his own intereſt.

High tone of Charles and his brother, after the French treaties, to proteſtant counſellors.

Charles had no ſooner drawn his proteſtant miniſters upon the unpopular ground of a ſecret money treaty with France, for the deſtruction of a proteſtant republic, than he aſſumed over them, all that ſuperiority which the advantage of it gave him. He duped Buckingham of the command of the Engliſh land forces to be employed againſt Holland, by prevailing on Louis not to aſk them. And when Buckingham on this account retired from court in diſguſt, he ordered him to return, and rated him roundly. One of the expreſſions which fell upon this occaſion from the mouth of the beſt bred man in Europe, was, " That when great intereſts were at ſtake, " he conſidered Buckingham no more than his dog." As the tranſition of paſſion to objects connected with the object of it is eaſy, Charles turning to Lauderdale and Aſhley Cooper, who happened to be preſent, treated them in a ſtrain not much better; and concluded with ordering all the three to promote the ends of the treaty they had ſigned; with threats of making them feel his diſpleaſure if they did not.

The Duke of York alſo intoxicated with the ſucceſs of the treaties, firſt betrayed that contempt of parliaments, that attachment to France, and that blind zeal for his religion, which afterwards drew ruin upon him. Colbert, in one of his diſpatches at Verſailles repreſents the Duke of York's ſentiments upon a diſpute in his brother's councils, whether a parliament ſhould be aſſembled, in theſe words: " I found the Duke of York in the ſame

" ſentiments

"fentiments with the Duke of Buckingham, with re-
"gard to the meeting of the parliament, having told me
"of himſelf, without my entering upon the ſubject,
"that if his advice was followed, they would be very
"cautious of aſſembling it; adding in confidence, that
"affairs are at preſent here in ſuch a ſituation, as to
"make him believe, that a King and a parliament can
"exiſt no longer together: That nothing ſhould be any
"longer thought of, than to make war upon Holland,
"as the only means left without having recourſe to
"parliament, to which they ought no longer to have
"recourſe, till the war and the catholic faith had come
"to an happy iſſue; and then they ſhould be in condi-
"tion to obtain by force what they could not obtain by
"mildneſs."

A Prince whoſe politics are crooked, makes thoſe of his miniſters crooked alſo. The cabal, to leſſen their danger, by giving others a ſhare of it, propoſed to the French court, that an attempt ſhould be made to engage Prince Rupert and the Duke of Ormond, to conſent to a treaty with France, upon the plan of that lately concluded. But the French tired of fineſſes in which they had no intereſt, refuſed their conſent.

Bold courſes of the cabal.

Deſperate becauſe few, the cabal came then ſtrongly to ſee, that their only ſafety lay in ſtrengthening that royal authority, which alone could protect them from the people; and engaged their maſter in the boldeſt courſes to link his intereſt with their own. They made the King break faith with his people, by obtaining a great ſum from parliament to ſupport Holland againſt France, although he was under ſecret engagements with France to deſtroy her. When he wanted more money to enable him to fulfil theſe engagements, Shaftesbury ſuggeſted the ſcheme of ſeizing the iſſues of the exchequer, inſtead of applying to parliament; a meaſure which diſco-

vered a contempt of the laws, a deſign to reign independent of parliaments, and a conſciouſneſs, that the war he was undertaking was diſagreeable to his people. He aſſerted a ſuſpending and diſpenſing power in the crown, in his ſecond declaration of indulgence, by the advice of Buckingham and Shafteſbury, who hoped to gain the diſſenters by that indulgence. In vain he declared that his declaration was only a political meaſure, intended to end diviſions among his proteſtant ſubjects, and to draw the Dutch traders from Holland, by a toleration of religion ſimilar to that in their own country. The declaration irritated the church, becauſe it ſhewed favour to the diſſenters; the diſſenters, becauſe they ſuppoſed it was meant to favour only the Roman Catholics; and the friends to liberty and the conſtitution, who exclaimed, "That it ſtruck at all the laws, for which the "people of England had been ſtruggling during 1100 "years: For that if the Sovereign could, without con- "ſent of parliament diſpenſe with one law, he could "diſpenſe with all." Many other inſtances of the ſuſpending and diſpenſing powers followed *. The French King privately promiſed Charles that, as ſoon as the war was at an end, he would ſend 6000 troops from France to aſſiſt him in maintaining his authority at home. The Duke of York laid aſide ceremony, and avowed his communion with the church of Rome. The ſubject trembled when he ſaw a ſtanding army raiſed and maintained without conſent of parliament; and recollected that the only time the liberties of England were deſtroyed, was, by a ſtanding army, under the direction of Cromwell. Day after day, the Engliſh thought they ſaw their liberties and religion fading from their ſight. Louis XIV. completed their terrors, when his miniſter at the imperial court

* They are to be found in Ralph, vol. i. p. 213, &c. and 229.

court declared, that his maſter's reſolution to extirpate the Dutch was taken on account of their herefy.

In the mean time the Dutch, attacked by the troops of Cologn, of France, of England, by the navies of the two laſt of theſe powers, and deſerted by Sweden, which even ſtipulated to fall upon the empire, if any of her members ſhould advance to defend Holland, were taught how weak is induſtry when arms are diſuſed, and that wealth may well tempt, but cannot repel an invader. Upon the virtue of a youth of twenty-two years turned the fate of four millions of freemen. Charles offered him the ſovereignty of a part of his country, if he would quit its defence; but with a juſt elevation of ſpirit, he refuſed the offer. When told he ſhould live to ſee his country undone, he anſwered, with Spartan brevity, "No, I ſhall "die in the laſt ditch." The ſpirit of his countrymen kept pace with his; they prepared, if all other reſources ſhould fail them, to tranſport two hundred thouſand of their number, with their effects and their liberty, to a quarter of the globe the furtheſt from the ſeats of their former freedom. The virtue of the Prince caught the affections of the Engliſh; the ſufferings of the Dutch their commiſeration; the inequality in the ſtrength of the parties at war, provoked their generoſity: and an alliance with France rouſed ancient, and inflamed preſent antipathies. One of the moſt remarkable ſpectacles that is to be found in the hiſtory of mankind, was at this time preſented: Two of the braveſt of nations aiming their daggers at each other's breaſts; yet lamenting the wounds which they mutually gave. When the Dutch deputies were ſent to beg peace from Charles, the people of England followed their coaches with tears, and the court was obliged to remove them to Hampton-court from the eyes of the public: A device which only increaſed the public pity. When the Engliſh ambaſſadors paſſed through

Spirit of the Dutch and the Prince of Orange.

Gains the Engliſh.

Holland

Holland in their way to the French King, the Dutch received them with cries of "God ſave the Engliſh, and "the Prince of Orange." Hence mutual ties between the nations, hence mutual averſion to thoſe princes who endeavoured to keep them aſunder. Even the valour of the Duke in naval engagements, which, in the former war, the Engliſh had honoured, they now covered with obloquy.

Spirit of the parliament, in the year 1672.

To that ſeſſion of parliament, which met in the year 1673, immediately after theſe events, every Briton who now lives, doth perhaps owe the whole liberty he enjoys. Charles opened the ſeſſion by informing his parliament in high terms, that he would not be contradicted in his reſolution of maintaining his grant of indulgence, and that, inſtead of diminiſhing, he intended to increaſe his army: A declaration which diſcovered, that he thought he had a right to make the laws depend upon his will, and to make his will effectual by an army, to whoſe eſtabliſhment parliament had not conſented. But the houſe of commons with Engliſh magnanimity remonſtrated in an addreſs, that the diſpenſing power which he claimed, belonged not to his crown; and, when Charles gave an ambiguous anſwer, they inſiſted in a ſecond addreſs for one more explicit. In another they preſſed him to diſmiſs the popiſh officers of his army; and in a fourth, to diſband his army itſelf, as ſoon as the peace ſhould be concluded. They prepared to attack his miniſters. Theſe miniſters quarrelled among themſelves: For Lord Arlington contrived the famous teſt act againſt popery, knowing well that Lord Clifford would not take the teſt required by it; which ſtruck the ſtaff of Lord High Treaſurer from the hand of Lord Clifford, and that of Lord High Admiral from the hand of the King's brother. Lewis the XIV. whoſe only view was the proſecution of the Dutch war, which he ſaw would be diſtracted by the

the quarrels of Charles with his ſubjects, preſſed him to recal his declaration of indulgence. Charles took advantage of this; in ſpite of the remonſtrances of his brother, of Clifford, of Lauderdale, of Buckingham, and of Shafteſbury, declined a conflict with his parliament, relinquiſhed his pretenſions to a diſpenſing power, breaking with his own hands the ſeal affixed to the declaration of indulgence, in which it had been aſſerted, declared his own inclinations to give ſatisfaction to his people, and expoſed his new miniſters to their vengeance.

Cabal broken.

But to eſcape that vengeance, the cabal made the ſame ſudden turn with their maſter. For, a maſter who betrays, and conſents to the corrupting of his own ſervants, muſt expect to be betrayed by them. Shafteſbury ſaying aloud, "That the Prince, who forſook himſelf, deſerved "to be forſaken," put himſelf at the head of the oppoſition to the court, and urged the recall of all thoſe unconſtitutional meaſures which himſelf had adviſed. His reſolution was taken in one night. In the evening Lord Clifford read to him a ſpeech which he intended to make next day in parliament, in favour of the King's meaſures; Shafteſbury, in order to fix it the better in his own memory, deſired to hear it a ſecond time; and next day in a ſtudied anſwer, confuted it argument by argument. Whilſt he was ſpeaking, the Duke of York whiſpered to his brother: "What a rogue have you of a chancellor!" Charles, with his uſual quickneſs of repartee, anſwered: "What a fool have you of a treaſurer!" Buckingham prepared to follow the example of Shafteſbury. Arlington, who had been diſobliged, when Clifford, by the influence of the Duke, was appointed treaſurer, and who was married to a Dutch woman *, paid court privately to the prince of Orange and the Dutch, and joined the popular

* Coleman's Letters, and Temple's Memoirs, 404.

popular party in parliament. To make his peace, and gain protectors, he diſcloſed the ſecret of the treaty of Dover to the Duke of Ormond and Lord Shafteſbury, under a promiſe of ſecrecy from them, and laid the blame on his aſſociates. To the honour of loyalty, Ormond carried with him his loyalty and his ſecret to the grave. By a ſtrange mixture of diſhonour and honour in party, Shafteſbury at an after period proſecuted Lord Arundel for a plot which he knew to be fictitious, and yet never made uſe of Arlington's ſecret againſt him. The furious Clifford indignantly retired to the country. Lauderdale alone, with the impetuoſity of his country's ſpirit, and his own, urged Charles, but in vain, to march the Scottiſh army into England; and when he could not prevail, joined in the national complaints againſt the Duke, hoping by that means to keep them off himſelf. Soon after, the King, preſſed by his parliament, made a ſeparate peace with the Dutch. And thus the famous cabal, and all their ſchemes, burſt like a bubble, almoſt at the firſt ſight of the terrors of an Engliſh parliament hung out to them.

Lord Danby's miniſtry.

Upon the downfall of the cabal, Sir Thomas Oſburn created Earl of Danby, roſe by the greatneſs of his abilities from the ſtation of a private gentleman to be prime miniſter. A man, the hiſtory of whoſe life, marked all along by ſudden honours and ſudden diſgraces, would cure the human mind of ambition, if ambition in a free country was not a duty and virtue. A tory and high-church man by principle, an enemy to France *, becauſe much an Engliſhman, he ſet out in his miniſtry with two views: One was to reconcile the King and the old tory party, the other to detach him from France. Charles entered into the firſt of theſe views, but ſoon made him ſenſible that he would be obliged to give up the other.

When

* Vide almoſt all his own printed letters.

When Charles deſerted France in the Dutch war by his ſeparate peace, in the end of the year 1673, he excuſed himſelf to the French court by laying the blame on his parliament and his people. But to make amends, he offered his mediation for a peace between them and the Dutch *. Louis XIV. aſked a more ſubſtantial favour. The Engliſh parliament was to meet in November, 1674. He was afraid that if it met then, Charles might be forced into a war with him, and that the ſupplies and forces might be ready in the enſuing ſpring. The Duke of York ſuggeſted to Louis to offer his brother money to prorogue the parliament. Louis followed the advice, and, in conſideration of five hundred thouſand crowns, Charles prorogued his parliament till April, 1675 †.

Secret money-bargain with France in the year 1674.

But the ſame danger preſenting itſelf to France in the winter of the year 1675, the ſame remedy was applied: And Charles, in January, 1676, entered into a ſecret treaty with France, whereby, in conſideration of a large penſion, he obliged himſelf to prorogue or diſſolve his parliament, if it ſhould endeavour to force him into any treaty againſt France; and both princes bound themſelves to enter into no treaty without conſent of the other. The Duke of York, the Duke of Lauderdale, and Lord Danby were the only perſons privy to this treaty. The two firſt promoted it. The laſt threw difficulties in the way, and even refuſed to ſign it; and the Duke of Lauderdale, rendered cautious by the example, declined to ſign alſo. Charles was ſo conſcious of the unpopularity, which theſe ſecret tranſactions, if known, would bring upon him, that he would not truſt the writing of the treaty to another, but wrote it with his own hand ‡.

Secret money treaty with France in the year 1676.

* Vid. Sir William Temple's memoirs, from the year 1670, to 1679, p. 378.

† Vid. appendix to this chapter. ‡ Do.

Secret money treaty with France in the year 1677.

The bargain in the winter of the year 1674, and the treaty in the beginning of the year 1676, ſaved France from an Engliſh parliament, and from Engliſh armaments, in the campaigns of the years 1675 and 1676. But in the beginning of the year 1677, the clamours of parliament, and of the nation, having increaſed for the King's joining the Dutch and Spaniards, in the war againſt France, Louis redoubled his attentions to Charles: He ſupplied him with money to diſtribute in parliament; he offered him forces to make him maſter of his ſubjects; and, by another ſecret treaty, he gave him two millions of livres, not to conveen his parliament until the middle of May *.

Charles's double dealing.

But while Charles was in this manner ſecretly ſelling Holland and Spain to Louis the XIV. he was continually duping all the three. At the very time when he was ſettling the terms of the ſeparate peace with the Dutch, in the autumn of the year 1673, he aſked a million of livres extraordinary from France, for the proſecution of the war †. He rendered his mediation in the negotiations for peace uſeleſs, by refuſing to be umpire between the belligerant powers; although all parties preſſed him to it, and the Prince of Orange acknowledged that the terms of peace were at his command, if he would preſcribe them ‡. The war continued four years. In the mean time, he, on the one hand, left 6000 Britiſh troops in the French ſervice, which were employed againſt the allies; and, on the other, permitted the Dutch to levy troops in Britain, which were employed againſt France §. He uſed his office of mediator, to inform the Freneh

* Vid. appendix to this chapter. † Do.

‡ Sir W. Temple's Memoirs, p. 418, 428, 434. and his letters.

§ Ibid. p. 377, and Gazette, April 9th, 1678.

French of the ſecrets of the Dutch *, and the Dutch of the ſecrets of the French †. The unfortunate events of the campaign of the year 1676, had no ſooner made the Dutch, and even the Prince of Orange, anxious for a peace, than he privately aſked a confidence from Louis the XIV. of the terms on which he would make it ‡. And by the uſe which he made of that confidence contrived to prevent a peace between two nations eager to obtain it. And when the negotiations for peace were drawing to a concluſion, there is great probability, that while he was ſeeking more money from France §, he was getting money alſo from Holland and Spain ‖.

By ſucceſs in over-reaching, Charles became even profligate in it. For after he had concluded his treaty in the year 1677, for ſelling his neutrality to France for two millions, he pretended he had made a miſtake in calculating two millions of livres at L. 200,000, and inſiſted for this laſt ſum. Barillon, in one of his diſpatches at Verſailles, relates, that when he began to reproach the King for the artifice, the King interrupting him ſaid: "In the name of God, do not ſpeak to me of this affair: "I am ſo confuſed about it, that I cannot bear it to be "ſpoken of. Go to the treaſurer, and do as you and he "ſhall underſtand the matter: As to myſelf I am driven "to deſpair whenever it is mentioned to me." While he ſpoke theſe words, preſſing Barillon gradually to the door, he opened it himſelf; and, in a pretended ſhame and confuſion, appearing not to know what he was doing,

* Vid. appendix to this chapter.

† Vid. Sir W. Temple's and Lord Danby's letters.

‡ Vid. appendix to this chapter.

§ Vid. Lord Danby's letters.

‖ It is probable that he received money from Holland and Spain, from two letters of Sir W. Temple, dated Jan. 17th and 24th, 1676.

ing, ſhut him out. The beſt of comedians could not have acted the ſcene better.

However unpenetrably the ſecret connections of Charles and his brother with Louis the XIV. were endeavoured to be kept, the Prince of Orange, by the infidelity of Rouvigny's ſecretary, came to be acquainted with them a little before the revolution; yet he generouſly never diſcovered them againſt his uncle to the world *.

Reflection

If we can imagine that Charles, in the treaty of Dover threw out the lure of popery only in order to relieve his neceſſities at the expence of France; and made proviſion for foreign help, only to make uſe of it in ſelf-defence, if he was unjuſtly attacked by his ſubjects; that he entered into the war with an intention to weaken Holland, to get juſtice done to his nephew the Prince of Orange †, and to withdraw from it ‡, when he ſaw France

* Vid. appendix to this chapter.

† The ſecret treaty of the year 1670 ſhews, that Charles attended to the intereſts of the Prince of Orange in the war that was projected. It appears from a paſſage in Lord North's memoirs, to be found in North's Examen, p. 484. and 485, that, in entering into the ſecond Dutch war, Charles had a view to the intereſt of his nephew. The authority is high, not only on account of the integrity of Lord North, and of his elevated ſituation, which gave him acceſs to know things better than others, but becauſe his memoirs were never intended for publication. It is certain, that the maſſacre of the De Wits, and the elevation of the Prince of Orange, was owing to a belief entertained by the Dutch, that the injuries done to the honours of the Prince of Orange were the cauſes of Charles's reſentment.

‡ There is a very remarkable paper in Sir William Temple's works, Vol. I. p. 83. which makes it not improbable, that Charles entered into the ſecond Dutch war, with an intention to engage France and Holland, and then to withdraw England. It is a memorial preſented in the year 1671 to the Lord Keeper Coventry. In this memorial, Sir William Temple examines three queſtions. 1ſt, Whether England ſhould continue in inaction, and allow Holland to increaſe in her commerce and maritime power?

France and Holland fairly engaged, in order that England might in the mean time run away with the trade of the world; that he withdrew as ſoon as theſe objects were attained; that he expoſed his enemies, whom he had created his miniſters, to the odium of an unpopular war, and of the unpopular meaſures which accompanied it; and afterwards complied with the voice of his people againſt that war and thoſe meaſures, to expoſe thoſe miniſters, to ſave himſelf, and to get an excuſe to France for

power? adly, Whether ſhe ſhould engage France and Holland in a war, and keep herſelf free? And laſtly, Whether ſhe ſhould join with France to deſtroy Holland? He is equally againſt the firſt and the laſt project; but ſeems to favour the ſecond, if it could be effectuated.

It may appear from the reſt of Sir William Temple's works, that he was much an enemy to the ſecond Dutch war. But the paſſions of men frequently confound an object with the circumſtances which accompany it. Sir William Temple, like all lovers of their country, was provoked at the meaſures of the cabal in the firſt years of that war. Men alſo judge often of actions by their events. Sir William Temple might, in the year 1671, think it right to engage France and Holland in a war, and yet, in the year 1678, be diſcontented with the liberty which had been given to France, in the courſe of it, to aggrandize herſelf too much by land.

A very ſuperficial critic in hiſtory may ſee from both parts of Sir William Temple's memoirs, that he was not let into many of the ſecrets of his maſter. In the courſe of his Dutch negociation, Lord Arlington, Sir Gabriel Sylvius, and De Cros, were ſent over at different times with powers which were concealed from him. Charles II. was the deepeſt diſſembler that ever ſat on the Engliſh throne. He had been ill uſed in his youth abroad, and, in his age, by many of his ſubjects at home. Theſe things had given him a diſtruſt of all human kind; and he was the more irreſiſtible, becauſe, by the natural eaſe of his manners, he gained the confidence of every one. The Ducheſs of Portſmouth was the only perſon in his kingdom in whom he confided, and even her he ſometimes duped, in order to dupe others. This makes an account of his reign the moſt difficult in the Engliſh hiſtory.

for retracting from the terms of his treaties; that he prolonged and obſtructed the negotiations of peace *, only with an intention that England might in the mean time ſecure the excluſive commerce ſhe had gained; that he gave troops to both the powers at war, in order to prevent the Engliſh from loſing the martial ſpirit, while their country was enjoying all the bleſſings of peace; and that, when he could get the flames of war continued no longer, he took money from both ſides, becauſe he conſidered both as his enemies; his conduct would preſent one of the deepeſt trains of policy that is any where to be found.

Effects of them.

But, if theſe were the intentions of Charles, like moſt ſchemes of deep policy, they turned againſt himſelf. Thoſe miniſters whom he meant to expoſe, threw the odium off themſelves upon him. The Prince of Orange rejected the ſervices offered. Charles could not aſſume the honour of a policy which irritated Holland and France againſt each other, without diſappointing it. He durſt not

* The Prince of Orange ſcrupled not to tell Sir William Temple, that the prolongation of the war was owing to Charles. Temple's memoirs, p. 434. The words uſed by the Prince were, "That the King had the peace in his hands for theſe "two years paſt, might have made it when he pleaſed, and upon "ſuch conditions as he ſhould think fit, of juſtice and ſafety to "the reſt of his neighbours, as well as himſelf. That all men "knew France was not in a condition to refuſe whatever terms "his Majeſty reſolved on, or to venture a war with England in "conjunction with the reſt of the allies: That the leaſt ſhew of "it, if at all credited in France, was enough to make the peace: "That they had long repreſented all this in England by Monſ. "Van Beuninghen, and offered his Majeſty to be the arbiter of "it, and to fall into the terms he ſhould preſcribe; but not one "word in anſwer; and all this received with ſuch a coldneſs as "never was, though other people thought we had reaſon to be "a little more concerned: That this put him more upon think-"ing a ſeparate peace (that is from the reſt of his allies) neceſ-"ſary, than all the reſt."

not avow the ſecret permiſſion he gave to levy troops, without alarming the jealouſy of the nation, that he intended one day to recal them to be uſed againſt his people; nor confeſs his duping Spain, Holland, and France, by receiving money from all of them, without drawing perſonal ſhame upon himſelf, in return for political reputation. And all parties in England concurred in condemning the ſecond Dutch war: the tories, becauſe their party thought they were removed from power to make way for it; and the whigs, becauſe Charles made the heads of their party the inſtruments of it at firſt, and intended, in the end, to ſacrifice them to it.

On the other hand, if we ſuppoſe that Charles II. was ſerious in intending to bury the proteſtant religion, the liberties of England, and the Dutch commonwealth, in one grave, he may be conſidered as the moſt criminal of all Engliſh Princes. And, if we impute his indeciſive and deſultory meaſures, after he withdrew from the war, either to levity, or to the influence of the ſums he received from foreigners, his conduct will appear in a very mean light. But, if his motives were really as criminal and mean as they are generally ſuppoſed to have been, the conſequences of them afford one of the many inſtances in Engliſh hiſtory, in which good has ariſen to the Engliſh nation from intended evil: For, from the æra of that war, is to be dated that ſuperiority in commerce and naval power which England then eſtabliſhed upon the ſufferings of the French and Dutch commerce, and that ſuſpicion of Charles and his brother, which the nation at that time formed, and which rendered ineffectual all the future attempts of either againſt the liberties of their ſubjects.

Differences between the King and

Although Charles had, towards the end of the ſecond Dutch war, recalled his unpopular meaſures, the ſenſe of paſt danger remained with his people. The five ſubſequent

the parliament for five years.

ſequent years were therefore ſpent in a continual ſtate of contention between the houſe of commons and their ſovereign. The commons addreſſed him twice againſt the marriage of the Duke with the Princeſs of Modena, although it was already celebrated by proxy; and although, a few years before, when the fears of popery were not ſo great, they had with indifference ſeen a treaty carried on for his marriage with another popiſh princeſs. They drew up votes and addreſſes againſt ſtanding armies, againſt national grievances, againſt the King's miniſters. Their complaints were repeatedly directed againſt Lauderdale. They examined Buckingham and Arlington at their bar, taking advantage of the antient hatred of theſe Lords againſt each other; and this hatred broke out in mutual accuſations. They prepared to impeach Danby. Every art of a popular aſſembly was employed to keep alive the cry of popery in the people. And ſupplies were refuſed almoſt as often as they were aſked. The King, on the other hand, by a prorogation, diſappointed a *habeas corpus* bill, the great palladium of Engliſh liberty. By advice of Lord Danby, he endeavoured to extinguiſh the ſentiment of oppoſition to his power, by ſetting on foot a bill in the houſe of Lords, for impoſing the oath of non-reſiſtance on the members of both houſes, and on all in public ſtation. But that houſe of Lords which, in the firſt tide of the King's popularity, had, even without a diviſion, impoſed the ſame oath upon churchmen, and the office-bearers of boroughs, took ſeventeen days to debate on the extention of it: an interval during which the nation believed that the fate of their own liberties, and of thoſe of their poſterity, were all the while in dependence. After the bill was carried through the houſe of Lords, Charles found he could not venture it in the houſe of commons. When the commons preſſed him

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to engage in a war with France, he desired them, first to advance the money necessary for carrying it on. And, when he mentioned the sum, an English house of commons, and an English monarch, haggled with each other, like two tradesmen in a bargain. Day after day, men's jealousies of Charles, and their hatred of the Duke, who was reputed to be severe, grew greater and greater; and both of these princes expected the exclusion, or something like it, long before it was heard in parliament.

APPENDIX

TO

CHAPTER II. OF THE REVIEW.

Nº I.

Letters from Charles II. to the Ducheſs of Orleans; from Monſieur Rouvigny and Monſieur Colbert to the French court; and between Louis XIV. and Charles II. concerning the firſt ſecret money-treaty with France, concluded in the year 1670, by the popiſh miniſters of King Charles, for his declaring himſelf a Roman Catholic, and the deſtruction of Holland; together with a draught of the treaty.

IN the *Depot des affairés etrangeres* at Verſailles, I found ſome letters of Charles the II. to the Ducheſs of Orleans, which mark his perſonal antipathy to the Dutch. One of them, which could hardly have been expected from a royal hand, follows.

Charles the II. to the Ducheſs of Orleans.——Indecent to the Dutch.

Whithall, 27 Feb. 1669.

I AM ſorry that my Lord Hollis has aſked juſtice upon a point of honour that I ſhould never have thought of: you know the old ſaying in England, the more a T. is ſtir'd the more it ſtinkes; and I do not care a T— for any thing

thing a Dutch man ſayes of me, and ſo I thinke you have enough upon this d rty ſubject, which nothing but a ſtinking Dutchman could have been the cauſe of: But pray thanke the King my brother and deſire him not to take any kinde of notice of it, for ſuch idle diſcources are not worth his anger or myne.

A paper at Verſailles, entitled, "Memoire preſenté au "Roy par Monſ. de Rouvigny, au retour d'Angleterre," of which a copy ſhall be immediately ſubjoined, ſhows, that before the triple alliance, Charles had made ſeveral attempts to a league with France; and other French papers to be printed in a different part of this appendix, will ſhow the ſame thing.

Upon entering into the triple alliance, Charles wrote the following apologies to his ſiſter and Louis the XIV.

Charles the II. to the Ducheſs of Orleans.—— Makes an apology for the triple alliance.

Whithall, 23 Jan. 1668.

I Beleeve you will be a little ſurpriſed at the treaty I have concluded with the States, the effect of it is to bring Spain to conſent to the peace upon the terms the King of France hath avoued he will be content with: So as I have done nothing to prejudice France in this agreement, and they cannot wonder that I provide for myſelf againſt any miſchifes this warre may produce, and finding my propoſitions to France receave ſo cold an anſwer which in effect was as good as a refuſal, I thought I had no other way but this to ſecure my ſelfe. If I finde by the letters that my Ld. St. Albans is come away, I do intend to ſend ſombody elſe into France to incline the King to accept of this peace. *In the Depot at Verſailles.*

Tranſlation of a Letter from the King of England to Louis the XIV. dated the 3d February, 1668.—To the ſame purpoſe.

SIR, My Brother,

THE preſent poſture of affairs not permitting me to deliberate a long time what part to take, I have choſen that which I thought moſt conformable to what I owe to the repoſe of Chriſtendom, ard have joined the States General of the United Provinces to bring about a peace between you and the Catholick King my brother, in which I believe I have not done a diſagreeable thing to you, as we have agreed to propoſe the ſaid peace upon the conditions that you have often expreſſed yourſelf willing to accept, and more expreſſly in your laſt letter of the 27th paſt, in which (after having been ſo good as to communicate to me your intended march into the Franche Comté) you declare, that whatever the ſucceſs may be, you ſtill were willing to accept the beforementioned conditions; thus ſacrificing your private intereſts to the public good. A moſt generous ſentiment and worthy of you. I have ordered the Chevalier Trevor, *a gentleman of my bed-chamber*, whom I have ſent to France in quality of my envoy extraordinary, to explain matters to you more at large, and the deſire I have to execute the treaty I have made, with every poſſible regard for your ſatisfaction; to whom, if you pleaſe, you will give entire confidence, and more particularly when he aſſures you of the inviolable friendſhip which on all occaſions I wiſh to preſerve as, &c.

Charles the Second to the Ducheſs of Orleans.—Sir John Trevor ſent to Paris about the triple alliance.——The King's kindneſs for his ſiſter.

Whithall, 4 Feb. 1668.

I Have diſpatched this bearer Sir John Trevor into france as my envoyé extraordinary with power to negotiate

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the peace between the two crownes according to the treaty I lately made with the ſtates of the united provinces, I have given him orders to communicate all things with that freedome to you as I ought to do haveing that kindneſſe for you which I cannot in words ſufficiently expreſſe, I hope he will not finde his worke difficulte, ſince I preſſe nothing but the conditions of peace which the King of france offred to agree with Spain upon, Monſr. de S. Laurens will part from hence in two or three dayes, by him I will write more to you, and ſo I am intierly yours.——*In the Depot.*

The triple alliance againſt France was ſigned on the 23d Jan. 1668. and on the 24th day thereafter, the Ducheſs of Orleans and the Duke of Buckingham entered into an intrigue for a ſecret treaty with France. On this head there is the following letter to her in the Duke's handwriting at Verſailles.

Tranſlation of a Letter of the Duke of Buckingham to the Ducheſs of Orleans —The beginning of the intrigue of the ſecret treaty with France in the year 1669.

London, 17 Feb. 1668.

YOU muſt excuſe the bearer if he has ſtaid here too long, becauſe it has not been his fault. I was deſirous to have ſent along with him a man capable of treating upon our affair, but that was impoſſible, and I own to you that I foreſee difficulties enough in finding a perſon who knows the language, and that is verſed in buſineſs, in whom I can confide: nevertheleſs I will do every thing in my power to accompliſh it, and ſhall be very ſorry, if not daring to ſend Leighton to you, nor capable to find another, I muſt be reduced to the neceſſity of entering into the matter with the Ambaſſador here, as it will greatly lengthen the affair. —I have been with him as you ordered me, and told him that

that you commanded me to communicate every thing to him, but that I did not dare to do it without the King my maſter's leave, and for this reaſon I deſired him to aſk your pardon on my part. I have alſo burnt your note, and beg you will believe that the ſtrongeſt deſire I have in this world is to obey you.

For the love of God don't be impatient; and conſider that in a place where every meaſure muſt be taken to gain the good will of the people, one cannot act with ſo much diſpatch as might be wiſhed.——*In the Depot.*

It is obſervable of this letter, that Buckingham avoids an intercourſe with the French Ambaſſador, which had probably been thought expedient by the Ducheſs, and this is frequently repeated in the French correſpondence on this head. The reaſon was, he wanted to reſerve all the honour of the treaty to the Ducheſs and himſelf.

In the ſummer of the year 1668, Charles frequently renewed the attempt to a treaty with France. But France ſeems to have ſtood off, diſtruſting his ſincerity. On this ſubject there is at Verſailles the following letter, and the following memorial from Monſieur Rouvigny.

Tranſlation of a letter from Monſieur de Rouvigny to Louis the XIV. dated May 21, 1668.——*Charles and the Duke of York make advances to France.*

SIRE,

THE King of England and his Highneſs the Duke of York continue to aſſure me that they will be extremely glad to enter into the ſtricteſt union with your Majeſty. The firſt diſcourſed me yeſterday a long time upon the ſubject, and after having ſpoke of your Majeſty with admiration,

admiration, he told me that he would willingly make a treaty with you, as between gentleman and gentleman, and that he preferred your word to all the parchment in the world. I anſwer'd him, that he could not doubt of the eſteem and affection your Majeſty had for him and his intereſts, after ſo many proofs as he had received ſince I had been near his perſon: that on his part he had ſo little anſwered thereto, that I knew very well this conduct had given you ſome miſtruſt; but that I did not doubt, if he would declare his ſentiments to me, in order that I might inform you of them, your Majeſty would be very ſenſible of them. In all appearance this will go farther; for which reaſon, I moſt humbly beg your Majeſty to ſend me inſtructions thereupon, and inform me if you approve of my waiting upon you whenever I may judge it neceſſary for your ſervice, without waiting any other permiſſion to make the journey, for perhaps they may put a great deal of confidence in me here.——*In the Depot.*

Tranſlation of the Memorial preſented to the King by Monſ. de Rouvigny at his return from England.——Monſ. Rouvigny arrived in France, July 3, 1668.——Charles had ſolicited a treaty with France before the triple alliance, and preſſes for it immediately after.

IN all the laſt converſations I have had with the King of England, I have never found him continue in the ſame way of thinking. He has always expreſſed to me a ſtrong deſire to unite himſelf more ſtrictly with the King, well knowing that nothing can be more advantageous, nor more neceſſary for the benefit of his affairs; but he has as often changed his thoughts with regard to the manner. Some time before the peace was made, he often told me that he had a great deſire to enter into a ſtrict alliance with France, but it was neceſſary he ſhould be aſſiſted, becauſe there were

a great many people about him of a different way of thinking. That as to himſelf, he had always had this inclination; that I knew it better than any body, and that I could not have the leaſt doubt of it, after the things he had told me when I took leave of him the laſt time I was in England. Upon which I anſwered, that the King had not a leſs deſire than him to compleat this union. He told me it was neceſſary the King ſhould make the advances; that it was his part to ſpeak firſt, without which it would never be in his power to perſuade thoſe perſons who differed with him in opinion. On this I reply'd, that I knew no other motive that could oblige the King to ſpeak firſt, but the affection and eſteem he had for him, and for this reaſon he had already done it often enough ſince I was in England; but they had anſwered it ſo badly there, and he had been ſo ill uſed, having ſeen printed in a book of Liſolas ſome propoſals which he had made through me for the glory and advantage of England, that I did not believe he would hereafter expoſe himſelf to ſuch accidents; that without this, I was aſſured the King would not heſitate ſtill to ſpeak firſt as he had already done, ſeeing the deſire he had to unite intereſts with him was nothing diminiſhed, and that he was unwilling to amuſe himſelf with ceremonies which were ſo widely different from his humour, and which often by the loſs of time were the ruin of affairs. After theſe reiterated diſcourſes, the ſaid King has often enough ſaid to me, Leave it to me, I will ſpeak to you the firſt opportunity. Since the peace he has renewed the ſame diſcourſe to me, and I have repeated the ſame things. Our converſations always finiſhed with his giving me hopes that he would ſay ſomething to me in confidence, with which I ſhould be ſatisfied. The Duke of York very much wiſhes for this union, as does the Duke of *Boug* (i. e. Buckingham); they put on no hypocriſy, and ſay there is no other good method to re-eſtabliſh the affairs of this court. They

They have often ſpoke to the King of England upon it, but he is hindered by M. *B. C.* who, being adviſed by Liſola, tells him from time to time, that his honour is concerned if he enters firſt into the affair, and that it will be the means of nothing being done. He dares not tell his maſter, that he ſhould not make this alliance; on the contrary, he owns it to be a good one, but he ſays the King (i. e. of France) is not for it; and that if he was, he would have no difficulty in making the firſt propoſal, in which caſe it would not fail of having a good ſucceſs. He agrees upon the whole, but deſtroys it through form. The King of England gave me all theſe anſwers: In ſhort, after ſome other converſations, he laughed at this point of honour, and gave me to underſtand, that he ſhould be very ſorry if he was believed capable of ſo great a weakneſs; that he had always the ſame deſire to unite himſelf with the King, and the ſame knowledge that his friendſhip would be very uſeful to him; that it was not this point of honour that hindered him from ſpeaking firſt: that was a very chimerical thought, but only the great prejudice he ſhould receive in his ſtate, conſidering its preſent conſtitution, if the King ſhould not take his propoſals well; that having made them, they might be alſo made known to the Hollanders, and even uſed to the advantage of the intereſts of France, and the prejudice of his own. On which I reply'd, That what he did me the honour to ſay to me in confidence led to no conſequence, becauſe I not being his ſubject, and not having any credential letter from him, he might at any time be pleaſed to diſown me, if he ſaw me abuſe it; and that I could aſſure him, what he alſo well knew, that the King my maſter was not capable of abuſing his confidence, nor of employing ſuch like means, which were unworthy his generoſity, and very contrary to his humour: He thereupon told me, that he was not able to diſown a thing he had once ſaid. Afterwards he aſked me, if it had not been propoſed to Vanbunning to

divide the Low Countries in caſe of the King of Spain's death. I told him I knew nothing of it, though it ſhould be true; but it was not difficult to ſee that this news came from Liſola's ſhop; that it could not be true for many reaſons, of which I would only mention one; which was, that I had often heard it ſaid by Vanbunning, that his maſters would rather wiſh the whole Catholic Low Countries were in the hands of the King of Spain, than to have them divided with his Majeſty, whoſe neighbourhood they terribly feared. After which the ſame King aſked me, if the King was at liberty, and in a condition of making an offenſive and defenſive league; that if it was ſo, and his Majeſty had a deſign to conclude a good treaty, he could anſwer to me for the event, and ſuch a ſucceſs as would pleaſe the King. In ſhort, after the laſt converſation I had with the King of England, he told me, that he had ſo often aſſured me of his ardent deſire to unite himſelf ſtrictly in friendſhip and intereſt with the King, that it was unneceſſary to ſpeak any more upon it; but that it remained for him as a mark of his freedom to tell me one thing; which was, that ſuſpicion and diffidence having till now hindered this union, and the ſame things being liable to happen again, he believed the beſt way to begin was by deſtroying them; that to this end, after having thought of it, he could find no better means than this; to wit, that the two Kings ſhould reciprocally engage to do nothing for the time to come without the participation and conſent of each other: that this would be laying a good foundation on which they might work with leiſure and ſafety to form a good alliance, which, according to his inclinations, could not be too ſtrong, conſidering his condition; and that there was nothing to hinder him to make an offenſive and defenſive league with France, towards all and againſt all. That if the King would act with the ſame ſpirit as himſelf, he would always anſwer for ſecrecy, and for a good ſucceſs. That the Duke of

York,

York, and all who compoſed his council, were of the ſame way of thinking, and had no other ſentiments than his. That he deſired me to aſſure the King of it, and to tell him, that if he would engage on his part, as he was ready to do on his, not to undertake or make, for the time to come, any negotiation or treaty, one without the other, it was beyond a doubt they might ſoon after very eaſily conclude an union, that hitherto had been only prevented through diffidence.

The day after this converſation, I communicated it to the Duke of Buckingham, who expreſſed great ſatisfaction; but 24 hours after, he told me the thing was changed, and that the King his maſter had returned to the difficulty of ſpeaking firſt; which obliged me to put in writing all that the King of England had ſaid to me on the 18th of June, to the end he might read it, and I know from himſelf whether it did not contain the ſame things he had done me the honour to mention to me. His Majeſty told me, that I had changed none of his diſcourſe, but he deſired I would not relate theſe things as from him to the King; but only that he had ſaid them to me, and that he conſented I ſhould tell them to his Majeſty as matters truſted to me, and which he was not diſpleaſed I ſhould explain as his thoughts. Upon which I aſked him, if he ſtill harp'd upon the point of honour? he anſwered no; but that he fear'd the Dutch would be ſoon after informed of this propoſal, if I made it on his part. I have ſeen him three times ſince, and ſtill found him in the ſame way of thinking. The laſt time I took leave of him, he recommended it ſtrongly to me to ſay, that the laſt words were the thoughts of his heart, and that he had ſaid them to me in great confidence.

M. *B. C.* has told him, that the King pretends to univerſal monarchy, and that it is neceſſary to clip the wings of thoſe who would ſoar too high.

From the above memorial and letter it appears, that, inſtead of France drawing Charles into the ſecret alliance, to defeat the triple alliance, as has been commonly thought, Charles drew France into it.

It appears alſo from the memorial, that Buckingham miſrepreſented his maſter's ſentiments, to prevent the treaty from going into the French Ambaſſador's hands.

Theſe letters about the triple league do alſo great honour to the memory of Sir William Temple, who formed it in five days, and who was not ignorant that there was a French intereſt at work with his maſter. Vide Sir William Temple's letters in Jan. 7, 1678.

When the French court came to liſten ſeriouſly to Charles's propoſals for a ſecret treaty, Buckingham was dropped, and the correſpondence paſſed through the hands of the Ducheſs of Orleans, who had infinite beauty and talents; and whom it was known to the French court Charles loved to extravagance, as appears from many letters in the Depot at Verſailles, to the French court from their ambaſſadors in England. In one of theſe letters Colbert ſays, that her influence over him was remarked by all, that he had wept often when he parted with her, and that whatever favour ſhe aſked for any one was granted.

There are the following letters on the ſubject of an alliance with France from King Charles to her in the Depot at Verſailles.

Charles the II. to the Ducheſs of Orleans.—Impatient with the delays of France about the treaty.

Whithall, 19 Jan. 1669.

I HAVE received yours of the 20, and you have reaſon to wonder that you have been ſo long without hearing

hearing from me, but I have had nothing to say. I shall not say much to you because Rouvigny will be dispatched in two or three days, and by him you will heare at large from me, only I cannot chuse but observe to you now, that I see that Monsr. Comminges does not all good offices there, by foretelling my intentions in as ill a sence as he uses to doe, and my Ld. Hollis writes something to me about giveing commissions to the citty of Bremen, which the K. my brother sayes he will be satisfied in, before he goes on with our treaty, which is so great a dreame to me, as I know not from whence this fancy proceeds, except it be from Monsr. de Comminge, who I am confident you will finde in the end, hath done me as many ill offices, as hath layne in his power to do, and I do wonder that after the advances I made by C. Barckly I should find the treaty go on slower than it did, my Ld. Hollis haveing receaved not yett an answer to his last paper, which is now almost two monthes agoe. After all this when Rouvigny returnes, you shall find my minde not changed, but that I will be as sinceare in that matter as I promised you to be; and if there be any thing altered in my condition since we first talked of this matter it is for the better; and so good night, for 'tis late.——*In the Depot.*

Charles the II. to the Duchess of Orleans.——He has wrote to Louis the XIV. enjoins secrecy; is undetermined what to agree upon.

Whithall, 20 Jan. 1669.

YOU will see by the letter which I have written to the King my brother, the desire I have to enter into a personall friendship with him, and to unite our interests so for the future as there may never be any jealousys betweene us. The only thing which can give any impediment to what we both desire, is the matter of the sea, which is so essencial

eſſencial a point to us heere, as an union upon any other ſecurity can never be laſting, nor can I be anſwerable to my kingdomes if I ſhould enter into an alliance wherein their preſent and future ſecurity were not fully provided for: I am now thinking of the way how to proceede in this whole matter which muſt be carried on with all ſecrecy imaginable, till the particulars are farther agreed upon; I muſt confeſſe I was not very glad to heare you were with childe, becauſe I had a thought by your making a journy hether, all things might have been adjuſted without any ſuſpicion, and as I ſhall be very juſt to the King my brother in never mentioning what has paſt between us, in caſe this negociation does not ſucceede as I deſire, ſo I expect the ſame juſtice and generoſity from him, that no advances which I make out of the deſire I have to obtaine a true friendſhip betweene us, may ever turne to my prejudice. I ſend you heere incloſed my letter to the King my brother, deſiring that this matter might paſſe through your handes as the perſon in the world I have the moſt confidence in, and I am very glad to finde that Monſ. de Turene is ſo much your frinde, who I eſteeme very much, and aſſure my ſelfe will be very uſeful in this negociation. I aſſure you that there is no league entered into as yett with the Empereur; the only league I am in is in the garanty I am ingaged in with the Hollanders upon the peace at Aix, which is equally bindeing towards both the crowns: I think Mr. de Lorene deſerves to be puniſhed for his unquiet humour, but I wiſh the King my brother do not proceede too farr in that matter, leaſt he gives a jealouſy to his neighbours that he intends a farther progreſſe than what he declared at firſt, which might be very prejudiciall to what you and I wiſh and endeavour to compaſſe, and you ſhall not want upon all occaſions full informations neceſſary; but we muſt have a great care what we write by the poſt, leaſt it fall into hands which may hinder our deſigne, for I

muſt

muſt again conjure you that the whole matter be an abſolute ſecrett, otherwiſe we ſhall never compaſſe the end we aime at. I have not yet abſolutely contrived how to proceede in this buſineſſe, becauſe there muſt be all poſſible precautions uſed, that it may not eclat before all things be agreed upon, and pray do you thinke of all the wayes you can to the ſame end, and communicate them to me. I ſend you heere a cypher wich is very eaſy and ſecure, the firſt ſide is the ſingle cypher, and within ſuch names I could thinke of neceſſary to our purpoſe. I have no more to add but that I am entierly yours. K.——*In the Depot.*

Charles the II. to the Ducheſs of Orleans.——Has made the firſt advances, and waits for an anſwer.

Whithall, 9 Feb. 1669.

I MUST in the firſt place aſke your pardon for having miſt ſo many poſts: the truth of it is, what between buſineſs and the little maſcarades we have had, and beſides the little buſineſſe I had to write, with the helpe of the cold wether, I did not thinke it worth your trouble and my owne to freeze my fingers for nothing, haveing ſaid all to Rouvigny that was upon my harte, and I am very glad to finde by yours that you are ſo well ſatisfied with what he brings; it lies wholly on your parts now to anſwer the advances I have made, and if all be not as you wiſh, the faulte is not on my ſide. I was this morning at the Parliament Houſe to paſſe the Bille for the five and twenty hundred thouſand pounds, and the commiſſioners are going into their ſeverall countryes for the rayſing it according to the act. We are uſing all poſſible diligence in the ſetting out the fleete for ſpring. My Lord Sandwich ſett ſaile two days ſince with 18 good ſhips, to ſeeke out a ſquadron of the Dutch fleete which we heare was ſeen upon the north coaſt of England; and if he has the good fortune to meete

meete with them, I hope he will give a good accounte of them.——*In the Depot.*

Charles the II. to the Dúcheſs of Orleans.——The Duke of York has come into the project on the ſcore of religion.—Bids her not write to Buckingham.

Whithall, 22 March, 1669.

I HAD not my cipher at Newmarket when I receaved yours of the 16, ſo as I could ſay nothing to you in anſwer to it till now, and before this comes to your hands, you will cleerly ſee upon what ſcore 363. (York) is come upon the buſineſſe, and forwhat reaſon I deſired you not to write to any body upon the buſineſs of 271. (France). 341. (Buckingham) knowes nothing of 360. (King Charles) intentions towards 290. 319. (Catholic religion) nor of the perſon 334. (Arundel) ſends to 100. (Le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIV.) and you need not feare that 341. (Buckingham) will take it ill that 103. does not write to him, for I have tould him that I have forbid 129. to do it for feare of intercepting the letters, nor indeed is there much uſe of our writing much upon this ſubject, becauſe letters may miſcarry, and you are before this time ſo fully acquainted with all, as there is nothing to be added till my meſſenger comes back.——*In the Depot.*

Charles

Charles the II. to the Ducheſs of Orleans.——He is fortifying places at home.—Is not to touch church lands.——Buckingham afterwards to be brought in.——The King's reſentment againſt the Dutch.

Whithall, 6 June, 1669.

THE opportunity of this bearer going into France, gives me a good occaſion to anſwer your letters by my lord Arlington, and in the firſt place to tell you I am ſecureing all the principall poſtes of this countery, not only fortifying them as they ought to be, but likewiſe the keeping them in ſuch handes as I am ſure will be faithfull to me upon all occaſions, and this will ſecure the fleete; becauſe the cheefe places where the ſhips lye are Chattam and Portſmouth, the firſt of which is fortifying with all ſpeede, and will be finiſhed this yeare; the other is in good condition already, but not ſo good as I deſire, for it will coſt ſome mony and time to make the place as I have deſigned it; and I will not have leſſe care both in Scotland and Ireland. As for that which concerns thoſe who have church lands, there will be eaſy wayes found out to ſecure them and put them out of all apprehenſion. There is all the reaſon in the worlde to joyne profitt with honour when it may be done honeſtly, and 126. (le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIV.) will find 360. (King Charles) as forward to do 299. a good turne as he can deſire, and they will I dout not agree very well in the point, for he has uſed them both very ſcurvily. I am ſure 334. (King Charles) will never be ſatisfied till he has had his revenge, and is very willing to enter into an agreement upon that matter whenſoever 152. (le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIV.) pleaſe, and I will anſwer for 346. (Arlington)

ton) that he will be as forward in that matter as I am, and farther assurance you cannot expect from an honest man in his post, nor ought you to trust him if he should make any other professions than to be for what his master is for. I say this to you because I undertooke to answer that part of the letter you writ to him upon this subject, and I hope this will be full satisfaction as to him in the future that there may be no doubt, since I do answer for him. I had writ thus far when I receaved yours by Elyas, by which I perceave the inclination there still is of trusting 112. (Commingé) with the maine businesse, which I must confesse for many reasons I am very unwilling to, and if there were no other reason than his understanding, which, to tell you the truth, I have not so great an esteeme for, as to be willing to trust him with that which is of so much concerne. There will be a time when both he and 342. (Monsieur, i. e. the Duke of Orleans) may have a share in part of the matter, but for the great secrett if it be not kept so till all things be ready to begin, we shall never go through with it, and destroy the whole businesse. I have seene your letter to 341. (Buckingham) and what you write to him is as it ought to be, he shall be brought into all the businesse before he can suspect any thing, except that which concernes 263. (Religion) which he must not be trusted with: you will do well to write but seldome to him, for feare something may slip from your penn which may make him jealous that there is something more then what he knowes of. I do long to hear from 340. (Lord Arundel) or to see him heere, for till I see the paper you mention which comes from 113. I cannot say more than I have done. And now I shall only add one word of this bearer Mr. de la Hiliere, who I have found by my acquaintance with him since his being heere to

to have both witt and judgement, and a very honeſt man, and pray let him know that I am very much his frind, and if at any time you can give him a good word to the King of France, I ſhall be very glad of it: I will end this with deſiring you to beleeve that I have nothing ſo much at my hart as to be able to acknowledge the kindneſſe you have for me: if I thought that making many compliments upon the matter would perſuade you more of the ſincerity of my kindneſſe to you, you ſhould not want whole ſheets of paper with nothing but that; but I hope you have that juſtice as to beleeve me more than I can expreſſe entierly yours.—*In the Depot.*

Charles the II. to the Ducheſs of Orleans.—— Enjoins ſecrecy.
——Is impatient for Lord Arundel's return.

Whithall, 7 June 1669.

I WRITT to you yeſterday by Mr. de la Hiliere upon C that important point, whether 112. (Comminge) ought to be acquainted with our ſecrett, and the more I think of it, the more I am perplexed: reflecting upon his inſufficiency, I cannot thinke him fitt for it, and therefore could wiſh ſome other fitter man in his ſtation, but becauſe the at- B tempting of that might diſoblige 137. (Buckingham) I can by no means adviſe it: upon the whole matter I ſee no C kinde of neceſſity of telling 112. (Comminge) of the ſecrett E now, nor indeede till 270. (England) is in a better redi- F neſſe to make uſe of 297. (France) towards the great buſineſſe: meethinks it will be enough that 164. be made ac- R quainted with 100. (le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIV.) ſecurity K in 360. (King Charles) friendſhip without knowing the rea-

ſon of it: To conclude, remember how much the ſecrett
K
in this matter importes 386. (King Charles) and take care
L. A.
that no new body be acquainted with it till I ſee what 340.
K
(Lord Arundel) brings 334. (King Charles) in anſwer to his propoſitions, and till you have my conſent that 164. or any body elſe have there ſhare in this matter. I would
L. A.
faine know (which I cannot do but by 366. (Lord Arun-
France Holland
del) how ready 323. is to breake with 299. that is the game that would as I conceave moſt accommodate the intereſts
England France Spain
both of 270. and 297. As for 324. he is ſufficiently undo-
France
ing himſelfe to neede any helpe from 271. Nay I am perſuaded the medling with him would unite and make his
L. A.
councells ſtronger: the ſooner you diſpatch 340. (Lord Arundel) the more cleerely we ſhall be able to judge of the whole matter. One caution more I had like to have forgotten, that when it ſhall be fit to acquainte 138. with
R K
152. (le Roy) ſecurity in 386. (King Charles) frindſhip, he
England
muſt not ſay any thing of it in 270. and pray lett the mi-
France K
niſters in 297. ſpeak leſs confidently of 360. (King Charles) frindſhip than I heare they do, for it will infinitely diſcom-
Parlement K
poſe 269. when he meets with 334. (King Charles) to be-
K France
leeve that 386. (King Charles) is tied ſo faſt with 271. and
Parlement
make 321. have a thouſand jealouſies upon it,——*In the Depot.*

Charles

Charles the II. to the Ducheſs of Orleans.——Impatient for an anſwer from the French court about the treaty.

Whithall, 24 Oct. 1669.

I HAVE nothing to ſay more to you upon our publique buſineſſe till I have an anſwer from you of my laſt letter by the poſt, only that I expect with impatiency to know your mindes there, and then you ſhall finde me as forward to a ſtrict friendſhip with the King my brother as you can wiſh. I am yours.——*In the depot.*

In the Depot, at Verſailles, there is a letter from Sir Ellis Lighton to the Ducheſs of Orleans, dated 18 Jan. 1669. in which he tells her, that Buckingham had refuſed to treat with Monſ. Colbert, the French ambaſſador, on account, as he ſaid, that he was afraid of a diſcovery.

On the 12 Auguſt, 1669, there is a letter from Monſ. Colbert, then ambaſſador in England. to Monſ. de Lyonne, the French King's ſecretary of ſtate, that Buckingham had offered to go over to France to make a treaty there between France and England, but that he, Colbert, had prevented him; and there are other letters to the ſame purpoſe. In the mean time the treaty was going on unknown to Buckingham by the intervention of the Ducheſs of Orleans.

On the 2d of September, 1669, King Charles writes thus to his ſiſter.

Charles the II. to the Ducheſs of Orleans.——The triple alliance had been made againſt his inclinations.

2d September, 1669.

YOU judge very well, when you conclude that I am ſatisfied with Monſ. Colbert, and I wiſh with all my heart that France had been as forward in their

their intentions towards us when Rouvigny was here, as I ſee they are now; I ſhould not have been ſo embarraſſed with the ties I am now under, if the offers I then made had been accepted.——I have upon all occaſions let Monſ. Colbert know the kindneſs I have for you, and that if I had no other inclination to France but your being there, it would be a ſufficient matter to make me deſire paſſionately a ſtrict union with them.——*In the Depot.*

This letter ſhows that the triple alliance againſt France was againſt King Charles's inclinations.

In the Depot are the two following letters, between Louis the XIV. and King Charles, about the treaty.

Tranſlation of a letter from Louis XIV. to the King of England.——Happy in the Ducheſs of Orleans being mediatrix between them.——Strong expreſſions of mutual confidence.

Sir, my Brother, 10 Sep. 1669.

AS you judged by my anſwer that I had entirely paid the confidence you placed in me, I own that by your reply you have regained the ſame advantage, not being able to find any thing more to wiſh, neither as to the things themſelves, nor in the manner of expreſſing them. I flatter myſelf alſo that the memorial which accompanies this letter will give you the ſame ſatisfaction: and it appears to me there is nothing wanting but ſpeedily to put a hand to the work, for eſtabliſhing the foundations of what we both ſo ardently wiſh for: on this I expect to hear from you with as much impatience as my ſiſter, for whom we have ſo much friendſhip, and who ſo happily is the mediatrix of this negotiation, being as ſhe is ſo natural a tye to our union.

Letter

Letter from the King of England to Louis the XIV.—Strong expreſſions of mutual confidence.

Sir, my Brother, 30 September, 1669.

THE bearer is ſo well known to you, there needs no farther recommendation for his being believed in the diſcourſe he will hold to you on my part. My ſiſter will at the time of his arrival deliver to you a paper which I thought proper ſhould accompany him, in which you will ſee the moſt ſecret ſentiments of my ſoul on the ſubject of the ſaid diſcourſe. I addreſs the ſaid paper to you by the hands of my ſiſter, to confirm you in that mutual confidence we both have in her diſcretion and zeal to unite us more ſtrongly. I have charged the bearer to aſſure you of the entire ſatisfaction I have in your juſt and obliging proceeding with regard to myſelf, and of the real friendſhip with which I am.

It appears from Colbert's diſpatches, in the Depot, that King Charles, ſome time before this, had ſent over Lord Arundel to Paris to treat with France, and had appointed him, Lord Clifford, Sir Richard Bealling, and Lord Arlington, his commiſſioners to manage it. The three firſt of theſe perſons were declared Roman Catholics. Lord Arlington was a concealed one, and on his death-bed declared his faith publicly, as appears from a ſubſequent part of the French diſpatches in the Depot. What the views of King Charles and the French were in entering into a treaty, will be ſeen from a converſation between King Charles and Colbert, related in the following letter, in the Depot, from Monſ. Colbert to his own court, who was ſent over to England in place of Monſ. de Comminge, to be ready to manage the treaty there.

Letter

Letter from Monſ. Colbert to Louis the XIV. 13th Nov. 1669.

——Has got Lord Arundel's propoſitions and his own inſtructions.——His converſation with Charles the II. about the ſecret treaty.——Charles truſts to a military force.——Inclines to declare himſelf Catholic, in order to ſatisfy his conſcience, and ſtrengthen his authority, before he declares war againſt the Dutch.——Colbert urges him rather to begin with the war, in order that he may have the greater force of his own and the French troops ready to ſupport his authority when he declares himſelf Catholic.

SIRE, 13 Nov. 1669.

THE meſſenger your Majeſty diſpatched to me arrived here on Sunday morning the 10th inſtant, and after having given me the letter from Mr. Colbert, which orders me, on the part of your Majeſty to cypher and decypher myſelf all the letters I ſhall receive or write concerning the important affair which you have done me the honour to confide to me: he delivered to me the pacquet containing your Majeſty's memorial to ſerve me by way of inſtruction; all the propoſitions made by the Earl of Arundel, with the anſwers; your Majeſty's letter to the King of Great Britain; and the power delegated to me written and ſigned with your hand, and that on parchment. I employed the reſt of the day in decyphering, reading, and examining the contents of the diſpatches; and as the King of England was engaged all Monday at chapel, and with parliamentary affairs, I had not my private audience till yeſterday evening, when after having read your Majeſty's letter, he was pleaſed to tell me, that the conduct I had held till now, had been ſo agreeable to him, that he had not the leaſt diffidence to truſt me with the moſt important ſecret of his life; and that beſides the good opinion he had of me, it was confirmed to him by your Majeſty's letter

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and that of Madame, who desired he would shew no reserve to me. I told him, as I really thought, that I was so sensibly touched with the confidence your Majesty and himself had placed in me in an affair of so great consequence to both your kingdoms, and even to all Christendom, if I employed my whole life, and all I was worth, to procure success, it would not be sufficient to testify my gratitude: that there being no longer any difference between his interests and those of his Majesty, I would serve him also with the same zeal and the same fidelity; and as to keeping the secret, I informed him of your Majesty's order, and assured him, that I would use all diligence, and take every possible precaution to avoid giving the least suspicion to any body. He afterwards asked me, if I had seen the propositions he had made to your Majesty. I told him you had sent me copies of all that had been written on both sides upon the subject; that his sentiments appeared to me very generous, and truly worthy of a great King: that your Majesty was perfectly well satisfied with them, and principally with the confidence he had shewn to you in communicating his design; that moreover I could not sufficiently express to him the obligation your Majesty was under for his disposition to join himself with you, in order to facilitate the acquisition of the new claims you might have upon the Spanish monarchy: that as it was the most capital interest you could ever have, you acknowledged of what important service this junction would be, if the occasion presented itself by the death of the Catholic King; and what advantages it would produce in favour of your Majesty in the pursuit of your right, and to England also, as he justly saw. He told me afterwards, he believed, that in reading all the writings, I must have thought that he, and those to whom he had entrusted the conduct of this affair, were all fools to pretend to re-establish the Catholic religion in England; that, in effect, every person versed in the affairs of his king-

dom, and the humour of his people, ought to have the ſame thought; but that, after all, he hoped that, with your Majeſty's ſupport, this great undertaking would have a happy ſucceſs: that the Preſbyterians, and the other ſects, had a greater averſion to the Engliſh church than to the Catholics; that all the ſectaries deſired only the free exerciſe of their religion, and provided they could obtain it, as it was his deſign they ſhould, they would not oppoſe his intended change of religion: that beſides, he has ſome good troops ſtrongly attached to him, and if the deceaſed King his father had had as many, he would have ſtifled in their birth thoſe troubles that cauſed his ruin; that he would ſtill augment as much as poſſible his regiments and companies under the moſt ſpecious pretexts he could deviſe: that all the magazines of arms are at his diſpoſal, and all well filled. That he was ſure of the principal places in England and Scotland: that the governor of Hull was a Catholic; that thoſe of Portſmouth, Plymouth, and many other places he named, among the reſt Windſor, would never depart from the duty they owed him: that as to the troops in Ireland, he hoped the Duke of Ormond, who had very great credit there, would be always faithful to him; and that though the Duke, not approving this change of religion, ſhould fail in his duty, my Lord Orrery, who was a Catholic in his heart, and who had ſtill a greater power in that army, would lead it wherever he ſhould command him: That your Majeſty's friendſhip, of which he had the moſt obliging proofs in the world by the anſwers given to his propoſals, and with which he aſſured me he was entirely ſatisfied, would alſo be of great ſervice to him: and in ſhort, he told me that he was preſſed both by his conſcience, and by the confuſion which he ſaw encreaſing from day to day in his kingdom, to the diminution of his authority, to declare himſelf a Catholic; and beſides the ſpiritual advantage he ſhould draw from it, he believed it to be

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the only means of re-eſtabliſhing the monarchy. I ſaid to him, that the deſign was great and generous, and that I hoped by timing it well it would ſucceed: that as your Majeſty truſted to his prudence for the choice of the time, I had nothing to ſay to it, unleſs he would hearken to the reaſons that my zeal alone for his ſervice ſuggeſted, and the knowledge I had acquired during my ſtay at his court; and as he had told me he ſhould be glad to take my counſel in the whole of this affair, I did not doubt of what he had done me the honour to tell me, to wit, that if the late King, his father, had had as many troops as himſelf, he would eaſily have quaſhed the rebellion in its birth, as it originally began by trifling troubles excited by the intrigues of the court, in which the people had hardly any ſhare, and which had gained force and vigour, through the impunity alone in which the royal authority, not being ſupported by any troops, was conſtrained to leave them; but that the troubles which it was to be feared his declaration would cauſe, would be of quite another nature; that perhaps nine parts in ten of his kingdom would take an intereſt in it; that if the Preſbyterians and ſectaries hated the Engliſh more than the Catholic church, it was becauſe the laſt was at preſent at the loweſt ebb, and more worthy of pity than envy; but when they ſaw it reſtored by the Prince's declaration, and reflected upon the diſcredit into which their ſect might fall in the courſe of time, they would probably unite with the Proteſtants to oppoſe this change: That experience had too much demonſtrated, that religious motives were a fire of ſulphur and ſaltpetre, which in an inſtant ſets in a flame the whole extent of its matter, and is never more furious nor more violent than in the beginning. That ſeditions muſt be expected in every part of the kingdom; and that in London there never were wanting perſons to head rebellions of this kind: That I had even learnt there were more than 20,000 men in London and

its environs, who had borne arms during Cromwell's uſurpation, and were driven to deſpair to find themſelves without employment: that there was reaſon therefore to believe that, on an occaſion like this, they would all be ready to take up arms to ſupport rebellion; that though none of the troops he kept in pay, or of thoſe faithful ſubjects he depended on, ſhould fail him in the time of need, yet they might perhaps be overcome by the multitude of rebels, even before the troops your Majeſty had agreed to furniſh could poſſibly arrive: That the tower of London, which is his principal magazine of arms, is of no defence, and would not probably hold out a day if attacked: That it is not to be hoped the Hollanders, who with reaſon will fear the conſequence of this declaration, will keep themſelves entirely quiet, and not take part in what may happen: that, on the contrary, they would employ both their treaſure and their credit to form obſtacles to the execution of a deſign ſo fatal to their ſtate: and, in ſhort, in my opinion, his crown, as well as all his truſty ſervants, are in great danger from a premature declaration: that, on the contrary, I ſaw every kind of ſafety in the part your Majeſty propoſed him to take, of beginning by declaring war againſt Holland, and its happy ſucceſs might be anſwered for: for, firſt, I could not doubt that when he acquainted his parliament, his ſtrongeſt deſire was to render the Engliſh navigation ſtill more flouriſhing than it had ever been, and that the greateſt obſtacle thereto were the Dutch, who having, by very tyrannical means, engroſſed the commerce of the whole world, (ſo that 16000 veſſels are hardly ſufficient for their trade) and refuſed him any ſatisfaction to the juſt demands he had made, as well for the liberty of trade to the Eaſt Indies, as upon other heads which regard the intereſts of his ſubjects, he had reſolved to declare war againſt them, in order to bring them to reaſon, and that to this end he had taken ſuch prudent meaſures with your Majeſty that he could

could inſure the ſucceſs, provided his parliament would grant him only two thirds or one half of the aſſiſtance they before gave him on the like occaſion, I was, I ſaid, fully perſuaded that he would obtain a ſufficient ſuccour, which joined to his ordinary revenue, and to the helps which your Majeſty will afford him in troops and money, would put an end to the war in one campaign, and thereby he would acquire as much glory and as many advantages as could be deſired; there being the greateſt appearance that the major part of the German princes, who are either in friendſhip with your Majeſty or with him, will join againſt the Dutch, or at leaſt remain neuter; which is not to be expected from the Proteſtant Kings and Princes, if this war were preceded by his declaring himſelf a Catholic, which would give the Dutch room to make them believe that it was a religious quarrel. That the States being attacked on the ſide of the biſhopric of Munſter, and on other parts by the troops of your Majeſty and his, it would not be in their power to fit out a conſiderable fleet, nor to make a long reſiſtance; and ſhould even your Majeſty and he think proper for your common intereſt to continue the war, he might at the end of the campaign leave only ſuch troops in the places which fell to his ſhare, as he had the leaſt reaſon to truſt with regard to his declaring himſelf a Catholic, and order thoſe only home who were more devoted to his intereſt; and with theſe, in conjunction with the recruits and levies which he might raiſe during the campaign, under pretence of continuing the war, he might ſupport his change of religion: that then there would not be the leaſt apprehenſion that his ſubjects ſeeing him well armed by ſea and land, and that it was in his power to diſpoſe of all your Majeſty's forces againſt his enemies, whether foreign or domeſtic, and beſides ſatisfied of the advantages he would procure them by a ſucceſsful commencement of the war, and a free liberty of conſcience which he was to grant, would, or indeed

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durſt make the leaſt reſiſtance to his will; on the contrary, by aſſembling his parliament in this conjuncture, he would evidently draw ſuch ſupplies for the continuation of the war, and ſuch acts in favour of religion as he could deſire. That the Dutch being declared enemies to the ſtate, and conſequently thoſe who held correſpondence with them, without his permiſſion, liable to be puniſhed as traitors to their King and country, they would not find it near ſo eaſy to form, ſupport, and maintain a rebellion, as when, under the appearance of friends, they and their emiſſaries could have the liberty of intriguing and undertaking every thing. In fine, Sire, after having made the beſt uſe I poſſibly could of all the other reaſons contained in your Majeſty's memorial, this Prince gave for anſwer, that he was not yet quite determined upon the time of making his declaration; that it might perhaps be beſt for your Majeſty to begin the war with Holland, and thereby furniſh him with a pretence to arm; and ſoon after he might without riſque declare his being a Catholic, and war againſt Holland; and the firſt ſucceeding as it probably would, he might in a month or two join his forces to thoſe of your Majeſty againſt the common enemy. He told me alſo, that as ſoon as the project which his commiſſioners were at work upon was finiſhed, he would communicate it to me, and that he was very impatient to have this great affair ſpeedily concluded to your mutual ſatisfaction; and after having given me the moſt obliging aſſurances of his eſteem that I could deſire, he diſmiſſed me. I have alſo executed your Majeſty's orders to my Lord Arlington; he teſtified to me the ſtrongeſt deſire to preſerve your Majeſty's eſteem. He alſo promiſed me that for the time to come he would act with me with an entire openneſs of heart, and without any reſerve. I anſwered him with ſo much the more ſincerity, as the knowledge your Majeſty gave me of the affection and zeal of this Miniſter for the King his Maſter's ſervice, had

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changed the little diſſatisfaction his paſt coldneſs had given me into a ſtrong inclination to honour him as a wiſe and faithful miniſter; and as I have every reaſon to be ſatisfied with him, he alſo appeared to be ſo with the ſincere proteſtations that I made him. With regard to the affair that is entruſted to us, our converſation being in almoſt every thing the ſame with that I had with the King, I will not trouble your Majeſty with it, to avoid a tireſome repetition. He told me, he had been ſo much taken up with parliamentary affairs, that he could not give any attention to the project of the treaty; but that he would now employ himſelf with all the diligence the ſubject merited; and to avoid giving the leaſt ſuſpicion by more frequently viſiting than we had been uſed to do, he thought it beſt to write to each other reciprocally; and to make it more ſure, he would diſpoſe the King and the Duke of York to allow that what letters we wrote ſhould be put into their hands, without any other perſon knowing any thing of it; that it was equally neceſſary I ſhould as ſoon as poſſible give my anſwers upon the treaty of commerce, to the end that this affair might furniſh us with a pretence to ſee each other oftener; and he thought it adviſeable a report ſhould be ſpread that the King his maſter had ſollicited your Majeſty to ſubmit to his arbitration the difference he had with Spain concerning the execution of the treaty of Aix, in order to enhance your Majeſty's complaiſance to the Engliſh, and remove every cauſe of fear that you intend to recommence the Spaniſh war.

I have alſo ſeen the Duke of York, who in ſubſtance ſaid nearly the ſame things to me that the King and Lord Arlington had. As ſoon as they put into my hands the project of the treaty, I ſhall not fail to diſpatch a meſſenger who will carry it ſafely, and without loſs of time to Mr. De Lyonne.

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In the Depot at Verſailles there is the following draught of the ſecret treaty drawn by Sir Richard Bealling, and preſented to the French court.

Copy of a memorial remitted by Mr. Belin to Mr. Colbert, 18th Dec. 1666.——Charles is to get £.200,000 for declaring himſelf Catholic.——France is to aſſiſt him with troops if his ſubjects rebel.—If the King of Spain dies without iſſue, Spain is to be divided; England to get Minorca, Oſtend, and Spaniſh America; and France to get the reſt of the Spaniſh dominions.—Holland to be divided between France and England, and proviſion to be made for the young Prince of Orange.——King Charles to have 800,000 pounds a year during the Dutch war.—War to be declared againſt Hamburgh.

Project of a ſecret treaty of perpetual league and confederacy between the King of Great Britain and the Moſt Chriſtian King.

Tranſlation.

IT hath been treated, agreed, and concluded that there ſhall be for ever a good, ſure, and firm peace, union, true brotherſhip, confederacy, friendſhip, alliance, and good correſpondence between the King of Great Britain, his heirs and ſucceſſors of the one part, and the moſt Chriſtian King of the other part; and between all and every of their kingdoms, ſtates, and territories; between their ſubjects and vaſſals that they now have and poſſeſs, or that they may hereafter have and poſſeſs as well by ſea and freſh waters as by land. And as a teſtimony that this peace ſhall remain inviolable, and beyond the power of any thing in the

the world to disturb it, there follow articles of so great confidence, and otherwise so advantageous to the said sovereign Lords, that it is hardly possible to find in any age more important ones agreed and concluded upon. The King of Great Britain being convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, and resolved to declare himself a Catholic, and be reconciled to the church of Rome, thinks the assistance of his most Christian Majesty necessary to facilitate his design: It is therefore agreed and concluded upon, that his most Christian Majesty shall furnish to the King of England, before the said declaration, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling; the one half of the said sum shall be paid three months after the reciprocal ratification of the present treaty; and the other half three months after the expiration of that time: and further, that the said Lord the most Christian King, shall assist his Britannic Majesty with troops and money as often as there shall be need, in case the subjects of the said Lord the King shall not acquiesce with the said declaration, but rebel against his said Britannic Majesty (which cannot be believed.) And to the end that the said declaration may have the wished-for success, and be executed with the greater safety, it is likewise agreed that the day for executing the design shall be entirely in the option of the King of England.

2. It is also agreed between the most Christian King and his Britannic Majesty, that the said Lord the most Christian King shall not break nor ever infringe the peace he hath made with Spain; and that he will not controvert in any manner what he hath promised by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; and consequently the King of Great Britain shall be allowed to maintain the said treaty conformable to the conditions of the triple alliance, and the engagements that depend thereon.

3. That if there should fall hereafter to the most Christian King any new rights and titles on the Spanish mo-

narchy, it is agreed between the King of Great Britain and the moſt Chriſtian King, that the ſaid King of Great Britain ſhall aſſiſt the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King with all his forces, as well by ſea as land, to facilitate the acquiſition of the ſaid rights; the whole at the expence of the moſt Chriſtian King. And in order to obviate all diſputes that may happen about adjuſting the accounts of the ſaid troops, it is concluded and agreed between the ſaid Lords the Kings, that the levying and tranſporting all the land forces which the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall have occaſion for, or may require, ſhall be at the expence of the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King; and the preſent treaty being concluded, particular articles ſhall hereafter be adjuſted, as well touching the pay and ſubſiſtence of the ſaid land forces, as to regulate the manner and conditions upon which they are to ſerve: But as a calculation cannot well be made of the expences of a naval armament, ſubject to ſuch a variety of accidents, and compoſed of ſo many parts, it is neceſſary to reduce the whole to one head; it is therefore agreed that the naval forces which ſhall be employed, as abovementioned, in the ſervice of the moſt Chriſtian King, ſhall be paid by his ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at the rate of 3*l* 16*s*. a man per month, including the pay of all officers, and ſailors, the proviſion, ammunition, rigging, wear, and loſs of ſhips during the war; and that from the time the ſaid troops ſhall be raiſed till they are diſcharged, computing 28 days to a month, and on theſe conditions ſuch a number of ſhips ſhall be furniſhed, and of ſuch force, as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall judge neceſſary for his ſervice, and at ſuch time as he ſhall think proper. And as it may happen that this aſſiſtance will be demanded to bring under his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's obedience ſome diſtant provinces and places towards the Mediterranean, which at preſent are under ſubjection to the Spaniards, and that it may be inconvenient, nay impoſſible for his Britannic Majeſty's fleets to keep the ſea, without having

having ſome ports and havens where they may from time to time put in to careen, get proviſions and amunition, and have magazines and proper places to refit, it is agreed between the ſaid ſovereign Lords, that the King of Great Britain ſhall have for ever for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, the iſland of Minorca; as alſo for the greater convenience of his land and ſea forces, ſhall have to himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, the port and town of Oſtend in the Low Countries, with as much of the country round about, as ſhall be judged capable of paying as much contribution as will ſubſiſt ſuch a garriſon as it ſhall be judged neceſſary to keep there; and in order to take the ſaid places and put his Britannic Majeſty in poſſeſſion of them, the moſt Chriſtian King will uſe the ſame efforts, and employ as many troops as he ſhall, to take the places the poſſeſſion of which are to remain with him. And farther, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty promiſes and engages, as well in his own name as that of the moſt Chriſtian Queen, their heirs and ſucceſſors, and having cauſe (the before-named claims on the Spaniſh monarchy being fallen to him) to aſſiſt the King of Great Britain to make himſelf maſter of the countries and places in America, which at preſent are under the Spaniſh domination, and to do all in his power to oblige the people who inhabit thoſe countries and places in America, to ſubmit themſelves to the government of the ſaid Lord the King of England, his heirs and ſucceſſors; and having ſubmitted themſelves, or being reduced to ſubmiſſion, the ſaid people ſhall always be accounted ſubjects of the ſaid Lord the King of Great Britain, and of his heirs and ſucceſſors. It is alſo agreed and concluded, that neither of the ſaid ſovereigns ſhall make a peace, without the conſent and approbation of the other, with any Prince or State whatever, who ſhall oppoſe the juſt rights and titles devolved to the moſt Chriſtian King as is before mentioned.

4. It is covenanted between the ſaid two Sovereigns,

that they ſhall make war againſt the States General of the United Provinces with all their forces by land and ſea; and the ſaid Sovereigns ſhall declare all treaties heretofore made with the ſaid States null, except that already mentioned of the triple alliance made in conſequence of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and neither of the ſaid Kings ſhall make peace with the ſaid States without the conſent of the other. All commerce between the ſubjects of the ſaid Kings and of the ſaid States ſhall be prohibited; and if the ſubjects of either of the ſaid Sovereigns traffic with the ſubjects of the ſaid States, the ſhips and goods of ſuch ſubjects ſo trading ſhall be ſeized by the ſubjects of the other, and deemed lawful prizes; and if after the declaration of war, the ſubjects of either of the ſaid Sovereigns ſhall be enrolled in the ſervice of the ſaid States, and taken priſoners, they ſhall be puniſhed with death by the Sovereign whoſe ſubjects ſhall take them. And foraſmuch as the ſenate and republic of Hambourg are united in intereſts with the States General, and experience having ſhewn, that the ſaid republic will always aſſiſt the ſaid ſtates under hand, it is further agreed and concluded upon, that war ſhall be declared at the ſame time by the ſaid Sovereigns againſt the ſaid ſenate and republic: and as the preparations by ſea, in order to bring the war to a happy iſſue, will neceſſarily be exceſſive, and that the burden (much more heavy than that of an army at land) will principally fall upon his Britannic Majeſty, the moſt Chriſtian King engages to pay to the King of Great Britain, ſo long as the war ſhall continue, the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, by way of ſubſidy, to defray a part of the very great expence which the King of Great Britain muſt neceſſarily be at in fitting out all his naval force; which he propoſes, and obliges himſelf to do every year during the courſe of this war. The half of the ſaid ſum of 800,000 *l.* ſterling ſhall be furniſhed and advanced to the ſaid King of Great Britain three months before the declaration of the ſaid war, and

and the other half ſix months after the ſaid declaration; and thus annually, as long as the war ſhall laſt, the half in the beginning of each year, and the other half ſix months after. Beſides the ſaid fleet, his Britannic Majeſty will always keep on foot a body of 6000 infantry, which he will tranſport at his own expence; and of all the conqueſts that ſhall be made upon the States General, the King of Great Britain will be ſatisfied with the following places, to wit, the iſland of Walkeron, l'Ecluſe, and the iſland of Caſſante. The manner of attack, and continuing the war ſhall be ſettled by a regulation hereafter to be concerted. And as the diſſolution of the government of the States General, which is the principal end propoſed by this war, will neceſſarily cauſe great prejudice to the Prince of Orange, nephew to the King of England; and as many places, towns, and governments belonging to him will be found in the diviſion it is propoſed to make of the country, it hath been agreed and concluded that the ſaid Sovereigns will do all in their power that the ſaid Prince may find his advantages in the continuation and end of this war, as ſhall be hereafter ſtipulated in ſeparate articles, ſince it is to be preſumed that the credit they will thereby give to the ſaid Prince and his adherents, will contribute much to the good ſucceſs of the war; at leaſt will ſow ſuch ſeeds of jealouſy and diviſions among the Dutch, that the conqueſt of the country will be rendered much more eaſy.

5. It is alſo agreed, that before the declaration of war, the two Sovereigns ſhall uſe all their efforts jointly or ſeparately, as occaſion may require, to perſuade the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, or one of the two, to enter into this war againſt the States General; or at leaſt oblige themſelves to remain neuter; and they ſhall alſo endeavour to draw into this party the Electors of Cologn and Brandenbourg, the houſe of Brunſwick, the Duke of Newbourg, and the Biſhop of Munſter. The ſaid Sovereigns ſhall alſo

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do all in their power to perſuade the Emperor and the Crown of Spain not to oppoſe the conqueſt of the ſaid country.

6. Theſe fundamentals being ſettled, and the King of Great Britain after having having declared himſelf a Catholic, and being in peace at home, leaves to the moſt Chriſtian King the liberty to name the time when they ſhall make war with their united forces againſt the States General; it has alſo been agreed and concluded, that the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall name the time which ſhall appear to him moſt proper for the declaration of the ſaid war; the King of Great Britain being aſſured that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in naming the ſaid time, will have regard to the intereſts of both Crowns, which after the concluſion of this treaty are to be common and inſeparable.

7. If upon account of this agreement the one or the other of the ſaid Sovereigns ſhall find himſelf hereafter engaged in foreign or domeſtic wars, the one who is not attacked ſhall aſſiſt the other with all his forces till the foreign war or rebellion ſhall be ended.

8. If in any preceding treaty made by the one or the other of the ſaid Sovereigns with any Prince or State whatſoever, there ſhould be found any clauſes contrary to thoſe which are ſpecified in this league, the ſaid clauſes ſhall be void, and thoſe contained in this preſent treaty ſhall remain in their full force and vigour.

From the diſpatches in the Depot it appears, that, in the courſe of the treaty, France refuſed to agree to the war againſt Hamburgh, agreed to give two millions of livres, which was at that time about 150,000 *l.* for the King's converſion, with a ſubſidy of three millions for the Dutch war, and ſoftened the expreſſions about the money for the King's converſion in the following words:

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Project of the end of the ſecond Article.—— French variation upon the wording of the article of two millions of livres for the King's converſion.

Tranſlation.

The King of Great Britain being convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, is reſolved to reconcile himſelf to the church of Rome, as ſoon as the affairs of his kingdom will permit him; and though he has every reaſon to hope and promiſe himſelf from the affection and fidelity of all his ſubjects, even thoſe to whom the Almighty has not as yet ſufficiently ſpread his grace to diſpoſe them after ſuch an auguſt example to become converts, that they will not fail in that inviolable obedience which all people, even of a different religion, owe their Sovereigns; nevertheleſs there are often found in large ſtates turbulent and inquiet minds who ſtudy to diſturb the public peace, particularly when they have ſo plauſible a pretext as that of religion, his Britannic Majeſty, who hath nothing more at heart, after having given peace to his own conſcience, than to confirm that which the mildneſs of his government hath procured to his ſubjects, believes the beſt means to prevent its being altered, would be the certainty, in caſe of trouble, of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's aſſiſtance; who being willing on this occaſion to give the ſaid King of Great Britain effective proofs of his friendſhip, and the deſire he hath to contribute to the good ſucceſs of a deſign ſo advantageous to his Britannic Majeſty and the whole Catholic religion, hath promiſed, and doth hereby promiſe to furniſh to the ſaid King of Great Britain the ſum of, &c.

In making this treaty King Charles well knew how diſagreeable his connexion with France would be to his people.

ple. Colbert repeats what Charles ſaid to him on this head as follows:

Letter Monſ. Colbert to Monſ. de Lyonne.

Tranſlation.

HE (that is King Charles) told me, that he found himſelf as it were the only perſon in his kingdom who had inclinations for France; that all his ſubjects were more carried in favour of Spain; and that therefore he had many meaſures to preſerve.

From the French diſpatches at Verſailles it appears, that the almoſt only difference between the two courts about the ſecret treaty was, that Charles inſiſted to begin with the declaration of his popery; whereas Louis the XIV. was eager that he ſhould begin with declaring war in conjunction with him againſt Holland. It is probable that the view of the Ducheſs of Orleans' journey to Dover to meet her brother, was to prevail with him to yield this point to France. Part of a letter from Colbert at Dover to Louis the XIV. is as follows.

Part of a letter from Monſ. Colbert to Louis the XIV.

Tranſlation.

MADAME told me, that ſhe had ſhaken her brother's mind, and that ſhe ſaw him almoſt diſpoſed to declare war againſt the Dutch before every other thing.

The ſame letter adds, that Charles was deſirous Marſhall Turenne ſhould come over to Dover to fix the plan of the war; but that he, Colbert had diſſuaded King Charles from it, as a thing which would make too much noiſe.

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A few days however after this, it appears from the diſpatches in the Depot, that the treaty was concluded upon its original plan by the four popiſh commiſſioners, unknown to the King's proteſtant miniſters. The treaty itſelf is not in the Depot; but there is the following private ratification of it by Louis the XIV.

Tranſlation of a letter of Louis the XIV. to the King of England, dated 10 *June*, 1670.

I HAVE ſeen and examined the articles of the treaty that was concluded and ſigned at Dover the $\frac{22 \text{ May}}{1 \text{ June}}$ by Mr Colbert my ambaſſador, and the Lords Arlington and Arundel of Wardour, and the Chevaliers Clifford and Beling, your commiſſioners; and tho' I have this day cauſed my letters of ratification to be expedited in the beſt form poſſible, and agreeable to what had been agreed between the ſaid ambaſſador and commiſſioners; nevertheleſs, as they have thought proper, in order to keep this treaty a greater ſecret till it be time to put it in execution, that our letters of ratification ſhould not be ſealed with our great ſeals, but only with our privy ones, I thought it neceſſary to aſſure your Majeſty by theſe lines written with my own hand, that I approve and ratify all the contents of the ſaid treaty, and I promiſe on the faith and word of a King to obſerve and keep them inviolably in all points, without ever acting contrary thereto in any manner whatſoever. I hope God will bleſs our ſtrict union of friendſhip and intereſts with all the good ſucceſs we can wiſh from it, as well for his own glory as the common good of our ſubjects. I am, &c.

A letter from Colbert, in the Depot, of the 16th Oct. 1670, mentions Charles's ratification to have been, "The "King's ſignature and ſeal, and a letter by his own "hand."

There is ſome reaſon to believe, that whilſt King Charles was finiſhing the treaty, which reſerved to him a power of making the declaration of his popery precede the declaration of the war againſt Holland, he gave the French reaſon to hope that his inclinations were to begin with the latter. In the Depot there is the following letter from Monſ. Colbert.

Letter from Monſ. Colbert to Louis the XIV.——Charles intends by driving the Diſſenters to extremities, to get a pretence for ſtrengthening his military force.——Delays to begin the Dutch war till he ſees the effect of that intention.

Tranſlation.

SIRE, Dover, 6th June, 1670.

THE King of England, the Duke of York, and my Lord Arlington, have received extremely well the compliments that your Majeſty ordered me to make them on your part. I found them all well diſpoſed not to loſe any time in the execution of the things that have been promiſed. There is nothing however yet determined for the principal point, and they dont even pretend to fix it till they return to London, and ſee what may follow from the ſeverity with which the King deſigns to make the laſt act of parliament againſt the meetings of the ſectaries be obſerved; and he hopes that their diſobedience will give him the eaſier means of encreaſing the force of his troops, and coming ſpeedily to the end he propoſes: he hath approved of your Majeſty's reaſons for not conſenting to M. de Turenne's journey into this country. He ſeemed alſo to acquieſce with thoſe which obliged your Majeſty to communicate your union againſt Holland, to the elector of Cologn and the biſhop of Munſter;

Munſter: but Madame has told me ſince, that he had again taken time to deliberate on it and give a preciſe anſwer. I hope it will be ſuch as your Majeſty wiſhes; my Lord Arlington having this morning told me, that he thought they ſhould not defer placing this confidence in thoſe Princes, on their promiſing not to communicate the ſecret to any body.

As to what regards Vanbeuning's negotiation, his Majeſty takes a great deal of care to hinder him from doing any thing that might cauſe a hindrance to what has been concluded, and to diſmiſs him the earlieſt that can be, without giving him any ſatisfaction.

This, Sire, is all I dare do myſelf the honour of writing to your Majeſty upon theſe affairs by the poſt.

Madame thinks of leaving this place next Thurſday, and I believe a longer ſtay at Dover would be very troubleſome, and do prejudice to the affairs of the King her brother, whoſe preſence ſeems to be extremely neceſſary in London.

Charles not having received any of the money ſtipulated for his converſion, ſtill delayed preparing for the Dutch war, under pretence that he was firſt to declare his converſion. Colbert having received orders from Louis the XIV. on the 17th September 1670, to urge him on this head, writes the following account of the arguments which he uſed with King Charles.

Tranſlation.

Relation of what was ſaid to the King of England by the French Ambaſſador, in the conference of the 28th Sept. 1670.

He preſſes Charles to begin with the Dutch war before declaring himſelf a Catholic.

AS there are very near three months gone ſince the ratifications of the treaty were exchanged, the King my maſter believes your Majeſty will find it proper ro take without delay your laſt reſolution upon the contents of it, to the end that you may purſue together ſome ſteady meaſures; for your Majeſty ſees how much the time preſſes already, and that to be able to do any thing to purpoſe againſt the Dutch, and ſpeedily finiſh the affair, it will be neceſſary to enter into action, if it is humanly poſſible, in the beginning of the next ſpring; and the more ſo, as, if it is not done, you will be expoſed to the very great inconvenience of not being able to engage in the party a good number of the Princes of the Empire, whom the King my maſter is clear for engaging now, and your Majeſty knows how much their junction, and a conſiderable diverſion on that ſide, might contribute to the happy and ſpeedy ſucceſs of the deſign, and your own infallible ſafety.

Your Majeſty will alſo, if you pleaſe, reflect on the indiſpenſible neceſſity the King my maſter is under to make in good time, and even this year, magazines of proviſions, and all ſorts of warlike ſtores in the ſtates of the Elector of Cologne and the Biſhop of Munſter.; inſtead of which, if your Majeſty does not ſpeedily determine, it will be much more eaſy for the Dutch, upon taking the alarm more ſtrongly than they have as yet done, to detach thoſe Princes from the engagement you wiſh them to enter into, by throwing large ſums of money amongſt them, as there is

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no doubt the Dutch will with great profuſion do, in order to induce them to remain neuter, and even to form on that ſide alſo ſome party for their defence.

It is true, Sire, it appears, according to the terms of the treaty, your Majeſty ought firſt to declare yourſelf a Catholic, and I may with great truth ſay, that the King my maſter ardently wiſhes for it, as well for the advantage of religion, as for his own proper political intereſts: but as you judge it proper, and it is alſo juſt, nay abſolutely neceſſary, firſt to obtain from the Pope the conditions that may render your converſion agreeable to your ſubjects; and as this affair, whatever diligence is uſed in it, may not perhaps be ſo ſoon terminated as the King my Maſter and your Majeſty deſire; he begs you will again reflect upon all the reaſons which perſuade him, that to accompliſh more eaſily and more ſurely the two principal ends you have propoſed, it is neceſſary the war with Holland ſhould precede, or at leaſt accompany your declaring yourſelf a Catholic. And upon this I am to inform your Majeſty of a particular which the King my maſter had wrote me of the greateſt conſequence. You know how important it is for the ſafety and good ſucceſs of your deſign againſt the Dutch, that the Elector of Brandenbourg ſhould be concerned, without which the other Princes would tremble to engage themſelves with you. Now on the ſubject, &c. the ſame as in the King's letter of the 17th.—Your Majeſty may gather from thence one very juſt conſequence how much, &c. idem, till 'ſuch 'time as the affair breaks out.'

Perhaps your Majeſty may be told upon all this, that if before the declaration of religion, you can do nothing which can cauſe a fear or ſuſpicion in the Dutch that you have entered into alliance with the King my maſter againſt them, they will keep themſelves entirely quiet, and take no part in the affair, and the rather, that they will not dare to do it from the lively apprehenſions which will always

ways remain with them that your Majeſty would ſhew your reſentment by uniting yourſelf with France againſt them. The King my maſter has already remarked to your Majeſty in his anſwers, and now orders me to remind you of the little ſolidity of ſuch hopes. If people reflect, they will ſee, that if your Majeſty deſires to proceed with the circumſpection neceſſary in ſo great an affair, it will be indiſpenſably neceſſary for you, in order to keep your people to their duty, that before the act of your declaration is made, or at the furtheſt in making it, you ſhould give them to underſtand you have made a very ſtrict union with the King my maſter, by means of which, if you deſire it, you can diſpoſe of all the force of France againſt all your enemies, whether domeſtic, or foreign: and from thence your Majeſty may judge, if the knowledge of this union being in this manner become public, the Dutch will refrain from taking part in the affair through fear of promoting between the two Kings an alliance which they ſee already quite formed, and without any other remedy with regard to them, than that of endeavouring to excite embarraſſments in your Majeſty's own ſtates; but the King my maſter judges that this would not be the only motive for intereſting themſelves in ſuch an event, for they would recollect that a Catholic King of England ſtrictly bound in friendſhip and intereſts with the King my maſter, and both Princes picqued and offended at their paſt conduct on account of ſo many different injuries received from them, would not let them enjoy long ſo peaceably as they do now the principal advantages of the trade of the whole world; and from thence it cannot be doubted, that the Dutch would ſtick at no meaſures to ward off this ſtroke tending to their ruin, but would throw their treaſures by handfuls, and even exhauſt if it were neceſſary their credit, to form, ſupport, and maintain againſt your Majeſty a ſtrong party in your kingdom, which ſeldom wants diſcontented and turbulent people,

ple, even though they had a much leſs ſubject than the change of the Sovereign's religion would furniſh them with, which your Majeſty knows is always too plauſible a one with the populace; on the contrary, if your Majeſty begins by attacking the Dutch jointly with France, the King my maſter is perſuaded that this attack will immediately produce ſo much confuſion and diſorder in their provinces, that beſides their not being in a condition to trouble England, that part of the kingdom which is the moſt affectionate to them, not ſeeing any reſource to their affairs, would keep themſelves attached to the ſtrongeſt ſide, which would be that of your Majeſty; inſtead of which, if you couſe the declaration of religion to precede the attack, the Dutch evidently ſeeing from your Majeſty's change of religion, the inevitable evil that muſt happen to them in the end, would from that inſtant take all the neceſſary meaſures and reſolutions to form againſt you factions and revolts in your kingdom, which they would find not very difficult, for the reaſons I have juſt mentioned. In fine, Sire, what the King my maſter propoſes will occaſion no delay in the execution of your deſign; on the contrary, it will make it entirely ſure, and abridge conſiderably the time for your Majeſty's making the declaration; for the King my maſter is not of opinion, that to accompliſh this act you need be obliged to wait the end of the war with Holland, but after you are furniſhed with the pretences for arming, he thinks the moſt proper time for your declaration would be in the midſt of a ſucceſsful war, when you could make your ſubjects feel, that you were on the point of procuring them the great advantage of the principal profits of the trade of the world, of which the Dutch would fruſtrate them by their power, and their cloſe application to draw all to themſelves with an inſatiable greedineſs. The conſequence of which would be, that the merchants being ſatisfied with this commercial reaſon, all your brave officers

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and ſoldiers occupied in the war with Holland, the Preſbyterians and ſectaries content with the free exerciſe of religion which you will grant them, and the principal perſons of your council engaged in this war by the part you are about to give them in the treaty, and otherwiſe obliged by the honour and faith they owe you, not only to do their duty, but alſo to keep all thoſe to it in parliament with whom they have credit, there will not remain the leaſt ground to fear, that your declaration being made in this conjuncture, can excite the ſmalleſt troubles in your kingdoms. Your Majeſty's penetration, and perfect knowledge of the ſtate of your own kingdom, and that of your neighbours, will ſuggeſt to you all the other reaſons, which I omit, to avoid being tireſome; and after you have made all the reflection that the importance of the matter merits, your Majeſty will pleaſe to let me know your ultimate reſolutions, to the end I may communicate them to the King my maſter.

N° II.

Letters from Monſieur Colbert and the Duke of Buckingham, to the French court, concerning the ſecond ſecret money treaty with France, concluded in the year 1671, *by the proteſtant miniſters of Charles II. for the deſtruction of Holland; with the ſecret article of that treaty, unknown to his proteſtant miniſters, for the King's popery.*

PROBABLY Charles's heſitation aroſe from his conſciouſneſs, that in his ſecret treaty with France, he was ſupported by none but his popiſh miniſters: for which reaſon it appears, from the French diſpatches in the Depot, that he carried on the following very extraordinary intrigue to lay the burden of part of the articles of that treaty upon his proteſtant miniſters.

A letter from Colbert to Louis the XIVth, dated 14 July, 1670, bears, that upon the death of the Dutcheſs of Orleans, Buckingham propoſed to go to France with an embaſſy of condolence, and to try to bring about an alliance between the French and Engliſh courts; that the King, the Duke of York, and Lord Arlington, were pleaſed to hear it; that he, Colbert, had encouraged him to it; that Buckingham had propoſed it to Lauderdale and Aſhley Cooper (afterwards Earl of Shafteſbury), that Lauderdale agreed to it, but Aſhley Cooper aſked time to conſider.

On the 28th July, 1670, Colbert writes Louis the XIVth, that King Charles was to ſend Buckingham ambaſſador to France, with a view that Louis the XIVth might gain him to bring about a treaty between the two princes againſt the Dutch, concealing from him the treaty already made; and ſeveral letters bear Charles's permiſſion to the French King to flatter Buckingham with the command of the Engliſh troops which were to be employed againſt the Dutch; that Buckingham had the direction of Aſhley Cooper, who had been raiſed by him; and that the King himſelf could anſwer for Lauderdale from the perſonal attachment which Lauderdale had to him.

In conſequence of this, Buckingham went Ambaſſador to France.

On the 25th of Auguſt, 1670, Colbert writes Louis the XIVth an account of King Charles's joy upon Louis's having gained Buckingham: that Charles ſaid Buckingham had been always a friend both to the Dutch war and to popery, but that he could not keep a ſecret: and that Charles had propoſed there ſhould be what he called *une traité ſimulé*, which ſhould be a repetition of the former one in all things except the article relative to the King's declaring himſelf Roman Catholic; and that

the proteſtant miniſters, Buckingham, Aſhley Cooper, and Lauderdale, ſhould be brought to be parties to it.—In the Depot.

On the 8th of September, 1670, Colbert writes thus to Louis the XIVth.

Part of Colbert's letter to Louis the XIVth, 8 Sept. 1670.—King Charles makes a tool of Buckingham in the ſecond ſecret treaty.

Tranſlation.

"THE King of England and my Lord Arlington have told me, that they had written to the Duke of Buckingham that he might return when he pleaſed, and that upon his return they would endeavour to finiſh what he had ſo well begun; and that by proceeding ſtep by ſtep, and doing nothing but in his preſence, they would lead him ſtill further."

Buckingham ſoon after came over to England; and it appears from Colbert's diſpatches that Buckingham, Lauderdale, Aſhley Cooper, and the Duke of York, were appointed commiſſioners by King Charles for conducting the treaty with Monſ. Colbert. In order to deceive Buckingham ſtill better, and to irritate his keenneſs by oppoſition, Lord Arlington and Colbert pretended to throw obſtructions in the way of the treaty. On the 29th September Colbert writes to Louis the XIVth, that Buckingham was preſſing for the treaty, and complained of Lord Arlington's backwardneſs; and that King Charles had deſired the article relating to money for his religion, might be ſunk in the *traité ſimulé*, and the ſum due to him on that account thrown into his ſubſidy for the Dutch war, in order to hide his intention to become Catholic from his Proteſtant miniſters.—In the Depot.

On

On the 2d of October, 1670, Colbert writes Louis the XIVth, that Buckingham is grown keener and keener, the King having agreed to give him the command of 6000 Engliſh troops to be uſed againſt Holland; that the new Commiſſioners are working at the new treaty, not knowing of the old one. The King having given the Commiſſioners the line, the differences between it and the former treaty are trifling.—In the Depot.

But the impatience of Buckingham is not half ſo well painted in Colbert's letters, as in the three following letters written in his own hand.

Letter from the Duke of Buckingham to Louis the XIVth, bound up before the letter from Mr. Colbert of the 13 *October*, 1670.—*Impatient for the ſecret treaty.*

Tranſlation.

IT is very important to the good ſucceſs of this affair, that it ſhould be concluded before the meeting of parliament; for which reaſon I moſt humbly beg your Majeſty will ſend us with the utmoſt diſpatch your final reſolutions upon every article of this treaty, to the end that we may endeavour to be in a capacity of ſerving you in the beginning of the ſpring. Vanbuning ſince my return has offered me a very conſiderable ſum to change ſides, though he did not find his account in it; but I apprehend he may with others, if the affair is drawn into length; and for this reaſon I am in a furious pain till it be finiſhed. For the love of God, Sire, believe that no man in the world can be attached with greater paſſion, reſpect and acknowledgment, than I ſhall be to your Majeſty all my life.—In the Depot.

Tranſlation.

Letter from the Duke of Buckingham to the French King, Nov. 19, 1670.—More and more impatient for the treaty.—A mean flattering letter.

SIRE,

I SHOULD be in deſpair if your Majeſty could doubt my zeal and fidelity: I owe you every thing through gratitude, but I am ſtill more attached to your ſervice by your perſonal qualities, which render you as much more eſtimable and above the reſt of mankind, as you are by your rank. It is theſe that for ever oblige me to be more devoted to your Majeſty than to every thing elſe in the world, and will always make me declare my thoughts plainly to you without reſerve, being certain that as I ſhall always ſubmit myſelf to your judgment, you will not think ill of me for the ardour I ſhall always have for every thing that regards you: in ſhort, Sire, I cannot hinder myſelf any longer from telling your Majeſty that nothing ever troubled my mind ſo much, as the conduct of this treaty ſince our return from Newmarket. The King my maſter agreed there in every thing with your Majeſty; there was nothing wanting but to draw the articles up which we ought to have ſigned in two days, and which, I am aſſured, might have been written in leſs than one. My Lord Arlington ſhould have finiſhed them in concert with the Ambaſſador, but ſince then we have had nothing but delays. The firſt ſtumbling-block was the iſlands of Goree and Worne, which the Ambaſſador has ſince agreed to; but that ſhould not have retarded the affair, for the King my maſter was reſolved to ſign the treaty, leaving a blank place for the ſaid iſlands, upon the aſſurances I gave him of your Majeſty's affection, and that without doubt you would inſert them yourſelf,

ſelf, after the reaſons that might be given you for it. I immediately told the Ambaſſador of it, believing on my part that I had done wonders; but the next day, inſtead of concluding, we had another diſpute about the preamble, and the article relating to the Prince of Orange. The King my maſter conſented directly to every thing he aſked; but this availed us nothing, for the Ambaſſador always found new difficulties, and refuſed to ſign till the return of his meſſenger. At preſent we are diſputing about one of the two millions of livres that is to be paid on ſigning the treaty. During this delay, it was often foretold to the King my maſter, that he would very ſoon have an infallible mark of your Majeſty's intentions, for if you had changed your ſentiments, you would heſitate upon the payment of theſe two millions. This prediction fulfilled ſo ſoon, together with what followed, ſerved to confirm me in a ſuſpicion, which for ſome time has given me a great deal of uneaſineſs; and I no longer doubt but the two perſons who ought to have prepared every thing for the concluſion of the treaty have agreed to break it off; and that whilſt one fills the King my maſter's head with ſcruples, the other does as much to your Majeſty; if I am miſtaken, excuſe a weakneſs that is a fault of my nature. I cannot be indifferent in the cauſe of thoſe whom I honour. I conſider this affair as the only one that can aggrandize your Majeſty's renown. If we enter here into the alliances which are every day offered us with eagerneſs, your Majeſty will loſe the fineſt occaſion in the world to exert thoſe talents God has given you, and which are capable of making you at leaſt equal to all thoſe who have preceded you in hiſtory.

Sire, I ſpeak as I think. If I do wrong, pardon me. Your Majeſty, if you pleaſe, may remember that from the moment I knew you, my heart was ſo filled with admiration,

miration, that it will be impoſſible for me ever to have an attachment to any other thing, or to be at reſt till I find ſome occaſion to render you ſervice, and to ſhow your Majeſty to what a degree I am accountable to you for all the obligations that I have received in ſo many different ways. I am, from the bottom of my heart,

SIRE, your Majeſty's, &c.

(Signed) BUCKINGHAM.

I moſt humbly beg your Majeſty to ſpare me a little for the freedom of this letter.—In the Depot,

Tranſlation.

Letter from the Duke of Buckingham to Monſ. de Lyonne, 19th November, 1670.—To the ſame purpoſe.—Inſinuations againſt Lord Arlington.

SIR,

SINCE the letter you did me the honour to ſend me, I have been very ill, which is the reaſon I have not written to you ſooner; at preſent I find myſelf obliged to ſend you this meſſenger, our affair being on the point to be broken off through the flowneſs of the Ambaſſador. I will never believe that you have changed ſentiments on the other ſide of the water; for which reaſon I throw the fault entirely upon your man here, and one of ours, whoſe domeſtic alliances do not ſeem quite to agree with thoſe we have endeavoured to accompliſh for the public. It is now a month ſince every thing was agreed upon, and nothing wanted but a ſheet of paper to be written, which my Lord Arlington and the Ambaſſador ſhould have adjuſted together; yet we are now farther from coming to a concluſion than ever. Whatever reaſons you may have to defer the declaration of war, what can you

you have for not immediately ſigning the treaty? Every day here creates a thouſand obſtacles; the parliament is on the point of making ſome declarations that will ſpoil all we may hereafter do, and in the mean time, being uncertain of what you are reſolved upon, we dare not take the only means capable to prevent them. For the love of God, if you have ſtill the intention to do any thing with us, conclude it ſpeedily, and know that I cannot render a more conſiderable ſervice to the King of France, than in putting him on his guard in good time. In ſhort, there are certain people here very much altered within this little while. I don't know from whence it comes, but I ſuſpect very much that the offers of money have not been every where ſo badly received as by,

SIR, yours, &c.

(Signed) BUCKINGHAM.

I ſhould not wiſh that every one ſaw this letter.—In the Depot.

From Colbert's diſpatches it appears, that the articles of the new treaty, or what is called in thoſe diſpatches the *traité ſimulé*, was ſigned by King Charles on the 2d of February 1671, and by the new commiſſioners on the 3d of June thereafter. I did not find a formal copy of the treaty in the volumes, but the letters ſhow that the articles agreed upon were the ſame with thoſe of the former treaty in all things, except that the money given for the King's Popery was thrown into the firſt year's ſubſidy for the Dutch war, and Charles was to get a million of livres in hand; and that in the diviſion of Holland, England was to have an addition of the iſlands of Worne and Goree. From all the diſpatches I ſaw, there is not the leaſt

leaſt reaſon to believe that the Proteſtant Commiſſioners knew any thing of the former treaty made by the Popiſh ones.

When the new treaty was near finiſhed, the French court inſiſted to have a ſecret article, declaring that nothing in it ſhould derogate from the article of the former treaty relative to the King's Popery. The diſpatches ſhow that Charles ſtruggled hard to avoid it, but at laſt conſented. The ſecret article offered by Charles, and afterwards accepted by France, with Monſieur Colbert's letter relative to it, run as follows:

Tranſlation.

Draught of the inſtrument offered by the King of England, Charles, &c. bound up before Mr. Colbert's letter to the King, of the 3d November, 1670.—Second treaty not to derogate from firſt as to King's Popery.

AS by the treaty ſigned at Dover the and ratified it is agreed, that we ſhall receive two millions of livres tournois, to aſſiſt us in declaring ourſelf a Catholic, and three millions each year for the expence of a war againſt Holland; and as we have ſtipulated by a treaty ſigned this day, that the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall give us five millions of livres for the firſt year's expences of a war againſt Holland; we declare by theſe preſents, that in the five millions mentioned in this laſt treaty for the Dutch war, are comprehended alſo the two millions which are mentioned in the firſt treaty for our declaring ourſelf Catholic; and we declare beſides, and promiſe, that having received the ſaid two firſt millions, we will give an acquittance as relative to the article

ticle of our being Catholic; and further, that it is our intention there be nothing in this treaty that may change the articles and clauſes contained in the ſaid treaty of Dover, but rather confirm and corroborate them. In faith of which, &c.—In the Depot.

Tranſlation.

Secret article of the ſecond treaty confirming the firſt treaty.

NEVERTHELESS I thought myſelf obliged to diſpatch this courier to deliver to your Majeſty the King of England's ratification of the treaty, and of the ſecret articles, with his declaration (which I have put in a ſecret pacquet), bearing a confirmation of the treaty of Dover.

N° III.

While the ſecret treaty was going on, the young Prince of Orange had come upon a viſit to ſee his uncles in England.

Colbert, in a letter to Louis the XIVth, of date 23d October, 1670, ſays, that Charles had propoſed to him to detain the Prince of Orange in England, and to tempt him with the ſovereignty of Holland; but that he, Colbert, had demurred to the propoſal.—In the Depot.

A letter from Colbert to Louis of 13th Nov. 1670, ſhews, that the French court approved of his conduct in not conſenting to King Charles's propoſal about the Prince of Orange.—In the Depot.

Thoſe who reflect that they owe their preſent liberty and religion to King William, will read with pleaſure

the following character which King Charles gave Colbert of him at this viſit.

Part of Colbert's letter to Louis the XIVth, 4th Dec. 1670. —Charles's character of the young Prince of Orange.

Tranſlation.

THE King of England is much ſatisfied with the parts of the Prince of Orange. But he finds him ſo paſſionate a Dutchman and Proteſtant, that even although your Majeſty had not diſapproved of his truſting him with any part of the ſecret, thoſe two reaſons would have hindered him.

The treaty being finiſhed, there appear in the diſpatches the firſt ſtrokes of that arbitrary diſpoſition, and contempt of parliaments, in the Duke of York, which afterwards drew ruin upon him. For after the treaty, a diſpute having ariſen in King Charles's councils, whether to aſſemble parliament in order to get money, in which Buckingham was much againſt it, Monſieur Colbert repreſents the Duke of York's ſentiments in the following words:

Part of Monſ. Colbert's letter to Louis the XIVth, July 14, 1671.—The Duke of York's averſion to Parliaments. —His arbitrary views.

Tranſlation.

I FOUND the Duke of York in the ſame ſentiments with the Duke of Buckingham with regard to the meeting of the parliament, having told me of himſelf, without

without my entering upon the ſubject, that if his advice was followed, they would be very cautious of aſſembling it; adding, in confidence, that affairs are at preſent here in ſuch a ſituation as to make him believe that a King and a parliament can exiſt no longer together: That nothing ſhould be any longer thought of than to make war upon Holland, as the only means left without having recourſe to parliament, to which they ought no longer to have recourſe till the war and the Catholic faith had come to an happy iſſue, and when they ſhould be in a condition to obtain by force, what they could not obtain by mildneſs.

In this correſpondence, the firſt ſtrokes of Lord Sunderland's character are alſo to be ſeen. From Colbert's letter to Monſieur de Lyonne of 24th Dec. 1671, it appears, that Lord Sunderland was ſent Ambaſſador to Spain to perſuade the Spaniſh court to join in the war againſt Holland. From a previous letter from Colbert to Louis of 30th Nov. that year, it appears, that he had inſtructions to take France in his way. This laſt letter contains theſe words:

Part of a letter from Monſ. Colbert to Louis the XIVth, 30th Nov. 1671.—Character of Lord Sunderland.

Tranſlation.

THEY aſſured me that the Earl of Sunderland ſhould without fail depart to-morrow to wait upon your Majeſty. He is a young gentleman of high family, has a great deal of frankneſs, courage, parts, and learning, is alſo extremely well intentioned, and has beſides a great diſpoſition to make himſelf a Roman Catholic.—In the Depot.

Both of the above treaties were helped on by money from France given to the King's miniſters, and for the moſt part with his knowledge.

On the 25th Auguſt, 1670, Colbert writes to Louis the XIVth, that he had offered a penſion of 10,000 crowns to Lord Arlington, whoſe anſwer was, that he could neither take or refuſe it now, but that in caſe of neceſſity he would aſk the protection of Louis.—In the Depot.

On the 28th Auguſt, 1670, Colbert writes Monſ. de Lyonne, that Lord Arlington had propoſed the French court ſhould give a penſion to Lady Shrewſbury, in order to fix Buckingham the better.—In the Depot.

On the 2d October, 1670, Colbert writes, that Buckingham had told him the Spaniards had offered him 200,000*l.* to bring King Charles to their ſide. Colbert adds: "I do not believe any thing of it; but I am "afraid that the appetite of theſe new Commiſſioners is "great."—In the Depot.

On the 16th October and 3d November, 1670, Colbert writes, that he had given the preſents to the Commiſſioners of the firſt treaty, and that King Charles had ordered them to take them. It does not appear what the extent of the preſents was.

On the 1ſt Jan. 1671, Colbert writes, that he had given Lady Shrewſbury 10,000 livres.—In the Depot.

On the 2d April, 1671, Colbert writes, that he had given a preſent to Lauderdale, that he is ſoon to do the ſame to Buckingham and Aſhley Cooper, and that King Charles knew it. It does not appear what the extent of the preſents was.—In the Depot.

On

On the 9th November, 1671, Colbert writes, that Lady Shrewſbury on receiving her French penſion ſaid, ſhe would make Buckingham comply with King Charles's in all things.—In the Depot.

On the 3d December, 1671, Colbert writes, that Lady Arlington had in her huſband's preſence offered to accept of the preſent intended for her huſband. He adds,—" The huſband reproached her, but very ob- " ligingly."—In the Depot.

On the 11th April, 1672, Colbert writes to Louis in theſe words: " My Lord Arlington made me a viſit on " purpoſe to let me know how much he is penetrated " with the marks of eſteem and diſtinction which your " Majeſty has given by the magnificent preſent which " your Majeſty has made to Lady Arlington." And then proceeds to repeat the ſtrong profeſſions of Lord Arlington to France.—In the Depot.

The diſpatches ſhow that Charles received great ſums from France during the Dutch war, and that he made no complaints of breach of treaty on that head; but the extent of them does not appear.

While King Charles was projecting or forming theſe ſecret treaties with France, he withdrew all his confidence from his old Tory Miniſters, pretended to make a favourite of Buckingham, and put the direction of Ireland into the hands of Lord Roberts; of Scotland into thoſe of Lord Lauderdale; and of England into thoſe of Lord Aſhley Cooper; all of whom had drawn their ſwords againſt his father. Theſe things he probably did to engage their ſervices in the ſucceſs of his connexion with France, or to expoſe men whom he diſliked if it ſhould prove

prove unſucceſsful. The contempt he had for the profligacy of Buckingham is notorious. His diſlike of Shafteſbury made him blind even to his talents, for Colbert, in a letter of July 1763, ſays, Charles told him that "the Chancellor was the weakeſt and wickedeſt of "all men." In one of Monſ. Barillon's letters at an after-period, to wit, in 1681, Barillon writes, that when Shafteſbury, at the end of the Dutch war, was adviſing Charles to quit the French and make a Spaniſh alliance, Charles aſked him how much the Spaniards had given him? He anſwered, Nothing at all; then, ſaid the King, you owe them nothing, for they offered Arlington 40,000*l.*

The following letter from Charles to his ſiſter, in the Depot, ſhews that his removal of the Duke of Ormond from the command of Ireland, did not ariſe from diſpleaſure.

Part of a letter from Charles the IId to the Dutcheſs of Orleans, 7th March, 1669.—His removal of the Duke of Ormond ariſes not from diſpleaſure.

"I SEE you are miſinformed if you think I truſt my Lord of Ormond leſs than I did; there are other conſiderations which make me ſend my Lord Robarts into Ireland which are too long for a letter. I have diſpatched this night n. z. m. p. s. c. b. s. w. a. e. f. m. to 103, who is fully inſtructed as you can wiſh: you will ſee by him the reaſon why I deſired to write to nobody here of the buſineſs of France 271, but to myſelf."

After Charles had drawn his new Miniſters into his ſecond ſecret treaty with France, he aſſumed a much higher tone over them than he had before done.

He

He duped Buckingham of his expectations of commanding 6000 Engliſh forces againſt Holland, by prevailing with France not to aſk them. Colbert writes on the 4th November, 1671, that on this account Buckingham had refuſed to go to court when ſent for. Aſhley Cooper and Lauderdale had ſhewn ſome diſcontents about the ſame time. Colbert gives the following account of the King's perſonal behaviour to theſe three Miniſters upon this occaſion.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Colbert to the King, 9 Nov. 1671.—Charles's free treatment of Buckingham, Aſhley, and Lauderdale.

THE Duke of Buckingham has at laſt been to ſee the King his maſter, who gave him a pretty long audience, and immediately after, the detail was told to the Duke of York, to my Lord Arlington, and the Treaſurer Clifford, from whom I learnt it. His Britannic Majeſty having ordered the Duke to tell him the ſubjects of his chagrin, ſaying, obligingly, that he wiſhed him ſo well as to cure him of it, the Duke openly complained of Mr. Mountagu, and indirectly of my Lord Arlington, for all the bad offices they had done him underhand, inſinuating, that they had conceived an averſion to him only becauſe he had been the firſt promoter of a good union between your Majeſty and England; and he maintained, that the favour which that Ambaſſador had aſked of your Majeſty on the part of the ſaid King, to diſpenſe with his levying and keeping on foot a body of Engliſh troops, was againſt his honour and the good of his ſervice; but the King told him, after having heard him peaceably, that he ſaw well he had forgot the millions he had been the cauſe of his loſing in the laſt ſeſſion

of parliament, and that though the affection he had for him, the Duke, had blotted out this offence, he could not help ſenſibly feeling the effects of it, which perhaps might have reduced him to the diſagreeable impoſſibility of diſcharging his obligation, if your Majeſty had not been pleaſed to releaſe him from it. That even ſuppoſing Mr. Mountagu had acted from no other motive than hatred to him (the Duke), he could not avoid approving his conduct from the good effects it had produced. That it was folly to imagine he could put in competition the intereſt the Duke had in commanding a body of troops, with that of the public, which received ſo great an eaſe from your Majeſty's complaiſance. He added, with anger, that on ſuch occaſions he conſidered him no more than his dog; and that even if your Majeſty had releaſed him of the naval armament in place of the levying and keeping the troops on foot, he would have had no more regard to the Duke of York's deſire of commanding the fleet: that as for the reſt, he wiſhed that all thoſe who had ſigned the treaty would live in good harmony, and unanimouſly concur in facilitating the execution of it; and that if any diviſion amongſt them ſhould happen which might hurt this affair, he ſhould know very well who were guilty, and entirely baniſh them from his confidence, and admit others who deſerved it better. They told me that he ſpoke in the ſame ſtile to my Lord Lauderdale and to my Lord Aſhley, who appear to me in effect a little mortified, and I believe this reprimand will not hurt your Majeſty's ſervice, the more ſo as my Lord Arlington, who has the largeſt ſhare in the eſteem and affection of his maſter, ſhews more warmth and forwardneſs than ever in advancing your Majeſty's ſatisfaction jointly with that of the King of England.—In the Depot.

This

This bold language had its effect with Buckingham at leaſt. Colbert writes on the 15th February, 1672, that a Latin copy of the ſecond treaty was that day ſigned; that Buckingham upon that occaſion ſaid, that another would get the honour of his work, that he had miſſed the object of his ambition, which was the command of the troops; adding, "ſic vos non vobis vellera fertis "oves:" and then reluctantly put his name to the paper. —In the Depot.

A Prince whoſe politics are crooked makes thoſe of his Miniſters crooked too. The cabal became ſenſible of the danger they were expoſed to by theſe treaties with France, and therefore attempted to leſſen that danger by ſharing it with the King's former friends.

Colbert writes on the 3d June, 1671, that the cabal had propoſed to make an attempt to bring Prince Rupert and the Duke of Ormond to conſent to a treaty with France againſt Holland; that the treaty juſt concluded ſhould be concealed from them, and a new one on the very ſame terms framed in conjunction with them; but that he, Colbert, had refuſed to give his conſent to the project.

It is very probable that the dangers which the cabal were thus brought into, engaged them for their own ſafeties in the bold courſes which they took in the beginning of the ſecond Dutch war.

Colbert, on the 11th April, 1672, writes thus of the cabal:—"They ſee that all their ſafety lies in ſtrengthening the authority of the King their maſter."—In the Depot.

Lord Keeper Guildford, in the manuſcript which Doctor North was ſo good as to ſhow me, writes thus:

Extract from Lord Keeper North's manuſcript.—Bold courſes of Clifford and Shafteſbury.

"THE Lord Clifford and the Earl of Shafteſbury were each of them upon very bold projects, and did not regard a good report: they thought, by the help of the parties they comprehended and took into favour, to be too ſtrong for all oppoſers."

When the Houſe of Commons preſſed Charles to recall his declaration of indulgence, Arlington alone heſitated, the reſt of the cabal ſtood firm. Colbert writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 9th March, 1673.

Tranſlation.

"The Chancellor, the Treaſurer, and the Dukes of Buckingham and Lauderdale, are of opinion to maintain this declaration of the King their maſter, in favour of the Nonconformiſts; and that if the parliament perſiſt in their remonſtrances, as it is not doubted they will, to diſſolve it and call another: they do not even want good reaſons to ſupport their opinion. My Lord Arlington, who at preſent is ſingle in his ſentiments, ſays, that the King his maſter ought not to do it."—In the Depot.

A Prince who betrays, and conſents to the corruption of his own Miniſters, muſt expect to be betrayed by them. The cabal, and all their ſchemes, burſt like a bubble at the firſt ſight of the terrors of an Engliſh parliament hung out to them.

Lord

Lord Keeper Guildford, in the ſame manuſcript, writes thus:

Extract from Lord Keeper Guildford's manuſcript.—Shaftesbury's ſudden change of conduct.

"WHEN Shafteſbury found he was to be queſtioned firſt, and for what he had ſaid and done, he fell to his old courſes, by which he uſed to ſave himſelf in former changes; and dealt underhand with the party that oppoſed the court; and recanted publicly and ſuddenly, by diſapproving the declaration, and thereby ſaved himſelf with them, who thought it would be of more ſervice to have the King's councils betrayed, than to make the Earl of Shafteſbury an example."

Colbert writes, 20th November, 1673, that Arlington had turned entirely to the Dutch party; that he contrived the Teſt act, knowing that Clifford would not take it; and that to make his peace he diſcloſed the ſecret of the firſt ſecret treaty to Ormond and Shafteſbury.—In the Depot.

If this laſt fact be true, it is a ſtrong inſtance of the honour of Engliſh party: for Lord Ormond carried with him to the grave his loyalty and his ſecret; and Shafteſbury, though little troubled with ſcruples, never made uſe of it againſt Lord Arundel, even whilſt he perſecuted him.

This was not all: Charles, by theſe crooked politics, loſt all the fruits of the popularity of the earlier part of his reign. The effects of that popularity might have been great to the power of the crown, when even the friends of the crown ſuſpected the weight of it. Lord

Keeper Guildford, in the ſame manuſcript, ſpeaking of the earlier period of Charles's reign, writes thus:

Extract from Lord Keeper Guildford's manuſcript.—Old gentry jealous of the weight of the King's popularity in the beginning of his reign.

"THE gentry were ſo ſecure in their own opinion, that they were conſidering rather that the parliament would inveſt too much power in the King, than that there was any danger of the old rebels, and therefore many of them began to draw the other way, deſiring the crown ſhould depend on the good will of the people, and thought themſelves politic in keeping the balance as even as they could. One would think they that had felt the miſeries of anarchy ſhould never have feared a King."

The publication of the Duke's popery, about the ſame time, loſt the King even the Diſſenters, whom he meant to have gained by his declaration of indulgence. Lord Guildford, in Dr. North's manuſcript, writes thus:

Extract from Lord Guildford's manuſcript.—Charles loſes the Diſſenters.

"IT is certain that from this time the credit of the government was quite broke, and that party who had perſuaded to the indulgence, and taken licences to a vaſt number (which they did to make the King believe their numbers were very formidable), cried out againſt it, as not intended out of kindneſs to them, but only to the Papiſts; that they deſired indulgence, but not at the price of all the laws; they had much rather have it in a parliamentary way; and in the next parliament they joined

joined with many of the country gentlemen, that were no friends to them, to oppoſe the declaration, ſo as they might have an act of comprehenſion; wherein the others promiſed all their endeavours."

Upon the promotion of Lord Danby on the ruins of the cabal, the project of that miniſter to buy off the reſentment of the Houſe of Commons, by giving money to the members, only added, on account of its novelty, to the impopularity of government. On this head Lord Guildford, in his manuſcript, ſpeaks thus:

"I obſerved this good humour began to decay upon the taking off enemies by preferring them; and thoſe friends that were low in the world, or had mercenary natures, had money given them; ſo that ambitious men expected to be ſought to and careſſed, becauſe they were able to trouble the King's affairs; and the honeſt, plain (but not diſcerning) country gentleman believed every vote that was given for the court was the effect of a penſion, and would not join, leſt he ſhould be thought to do it, becauſe he had ſome hopes of a reward."

It has commonly been believed that the French played falſe to England, in carrying the Dutch war upon the ſide of Maeſtricht, inſtead of making war near the ſea coaſts, in order to have enabled England to ſubdue Zealand. But the following extract from Lord Guildford's manuſcript ſhows this to be a miſtake:

Extract from Lord Guildford's manuſcript.—The French acted fair to England in the ſecond Dutch war.

"I HAD then the curioſity thereupon to be ſatisfied, concerning foul play ſuppoſed to be done by the French in making war about Maeſtright, when it was ſuppoſed, if they had advanced towards the ſea coaſts, Zealand would have yielded to have been ſubject to the King of England rather than to the French. I was told (by the Duke of York), that France did concert the ſiege of Maeſtright with the King, and it was alleged, that to think of a ſurrender was vain, unleſs the King could ſhow ſome force, which, if he could, the French making the ſeat of the war ſo far off, would divert the force of the States from the defence of the coaſts: and this reaſon prevailed."

Charles's declaration of indulgence has been commonly imputed to the intrigues of France with Charles, for the purpoſe of ſerving the intereſt of Popery. But Colbert's diſpatches ſhow that France had not the leaſt hand in it, that it was a ſcheme of Buckingham and Shafteſbury to gain the Diſſenters, and that France was the cauſe of Charles's recalling it.

Colbert writes to Louis the XIVth on the 9th March, 1673, that Madame de la Queruaille had told him, that the remonſtrances of parliament about the declaration of indulgence had driven Charles to deſpair, and that he was to diſſolve the parliament, and make a peace with Holland, finding he could do no better.—In the Depot.

Upon this intelligence, Louis the XIVth, whoſe only object, in his connexion with Charles, ſeems to have been

the ſucceſs of the Dutch war, wrote to Charles, and ordered Colbert to intreat him to drop his declaration of indulgence.

On the 20th March, 1673, Colbert writes the following congratulatory letter to Louis the XIVth, on Charles's having given up his declaration of indulgence, in conſequence of the interpoſition of France:

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Monſ. Colbert to Louis the XIVth, 20th March, 1673.—France has prevailed with Charles to recall his declaration of indulgence.—And aſſures him of troops againſt his ſubjects.

SIRE,

NEVER could any counſel be better received, more punctually followed, nor produce better and more immediate effects, than that which your Majeſty has given to the King of England. This Prince, who was almoſt reſolved on Thurſday in the evening to diſſolve his parliament, had hardly heard on Friday morning the reaſons which I repreſented to him on your part, to prevail with him to ſubmit himſelf to the neceſſity of ſatisfying his people upon the affair of the declaration, and to remove from the bad intentioned the too plauſible pretence of religion, than he aſſured me that your Majeſty's ſentiments had always more power over him than all the reaſonings of his moſt faithful miniſters: that he was ſo ſenſibly touched with the marks of the ſincere friendſhip you had on this occaſion given him, and the offers which I made him on your Majeſty's part, to extend the ſuccours, after the peace was made, beyond what you was obliged to by the treaty: that, to teſtify the better his acknow-

acknowledgments to you, he would grant, without any farther deliberation, what his ſubjects ſo preſſingly aſked of him. The next day in the morning, he went to the Houſe of Lords in his robes, ſent for the Commons, and ſpoke in the terms your Majeſty will ſee by the copy of his ſpeech, which was followed with cries and acclamations of joy from the whole parliament; and as ſoon as the Houſe of Lords broke up, the Commons went immediately upon the act of ſupply they had promiſed him; ſo that it is to be hoped this affair will be finiſhed to-morrow, or the day after, to the King's entire ſatisfaction. The whole people, who were already greatly alarmed with the apprehenſion of a civil war, made bonfires in every ſtreet upon this happy reconciliation of the King and parliament; even the bitterneſs which the Houſe of Commons had manifeſted againſt the Catholics, is a little ſoftened by the general conſent the King has given to every act they think proper to make for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion: and as he made no ſecret of the mild and moderate counſels which your Majeſty gave him, ſome members of parliament told me, that the whole body felt themſelves obliged to your Majeſty for this accommodation; ſo that affairs here are now in the beſt condition you can deſire for the advantage of your own; and the King has aſſured me, that he will have this year as powerful a fleet as he had the laſt.

I did not think it was for your Majeſty's ſervice to follow the meaſures you preſcribed to me, with regard to the offer of the troops which you were willing to aſſiſt the King with, for the execution of his deſigns after the peace; for as he is perſuaded, as well as his Miniſters, that nothing is ſo capable of cauſing a general revolt in the nation, as to ſhew them that he can ſupport his authority by foreign forces, he has often given me to underſtand

derſtand, and my lord Arlington has done ſo alſo, that he would not make uſe of the ſuccour with which your Majeſty is obliged to furniſh him, except in extreme neceſſity: thus I thought it better only to aſſure him in general, that your Majeſty would not limit yourſelf to the terms of the treaty, but that, agreeable to the ſentiments of your affection, after the war was ended, you would not only ſend over the ſix thouſand men that were promiſed, but as many more as he ſhould ſtand in need of. I have reaſon to believe they will make no demand too chargeable to your Majeſty upon this head.—In the Depot.

It appears from a variety of diſpatches in the Depot, that while Charles liſtened to terms of peace with the Dutch in autumn of the year 1673, he aſked a million of livres extraordinary from France for the ſupport of his fleet, but got a refuſal; that the Duke of York oppoſed the peace ſtrongly; that in the end of the year the French ſent over Monſieur de Rouvigny to tempt the King with an anticipation of the payment of his ſubſidy; that he pleaded the neceſſity of his affairs at home as an apology to France for quitting the war, but promiſed, in the capacity of a mediator, to aſſiſt her.

It is not impoſſible that, for the reaſons given in the "Review of the events of the reign of Charles," Charles's original intention was to prolong the war between France and Holland, under the pretence of being the mediator of peace, partly to get money to himſelf from both ſides, and partly to give England an opportunity in the mean time to run away with the trade of the

world. Charles, in a diſcourſe with Courtin, the French Ambaſſador, once let the laſt of theſe conſequences drop from him. Courtin writes to Louis, 21ſt June, 1677, that Charles ſaid to him,—"That at the bottom England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, and enriched herſelf, while all the neighbouring ſtates were drained or ruined by the war; and that the Engliſh would one day thank him for having kept them by his prudence in ſo happy a ſtate, and ſo advantageous for their commerce."—In the Depot.

But if theſe were Charles's views, thoſe of the Duke of York, who was leſs politic, were different. He was very ſincere in deſiring to procure a peace for France ſoon after England had withdrawn from the war.

On this head there are two letters from him to the Prince of Orange in King William's box.

Letter Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Adviſes him to peace with France.

Whithall, Oct. 23, 1674.

DEARE Nephew, I would not lett this bearer M. de Reede, returne back to you without writing to you by him, to aſſure you, I am very glad that you have made ſo good an end of the campagne, after all the hardſhips you have endured, and dangers you have expoſed yourſelf to; and now that you have freed your country of ſo ill a neighbourhood as that of Grave was, and by it put all the provinces at eaſe, and got ſo much reputation as you have, that you will turn your thoughts to the making a good and honourable peace, which I am ſure is for all our intereſts; I have ſpoken my mind very freely to this bearer upon the ſubject, ſo that I ſhall ſay no more to you of it now, but refer you to him.

Duke

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

St. James's, Jan. 12, 1675.

I SHALL make uſe of this occaſion to tell you I received your letter by the Earle of Oſſory, and am very glad, both by him and the Lord Chamberlin, to find you are ſo well inclined to have a peace, which I am fully perſwaded is both for your intereſt in particular, as well as for the repoſe of Chriſtendome, and good of our family in generall.

In February, 1673, Charles informed the parliament of his peace with Holland, and ſoon after prorogued it till the 10th of November, 1674. Even at this early period the Duke of York had a preſcience of the excluſion; for Colbert writes on the 10th Auguſt, 1673, that the Duke of York told him he was afraid of it. Lŏuis was at the ſame time afraid, that if the parliament met in November it might force Charles into a war with him, and that the forces might be ready the enſuing ſpring. In the Depot there are two letters in Auguſt, 1674, from Monſ. Rouvigny, Ambaſſador in England, to his court; the firſt of which bears, that the Duke of York told him that a clergyman had adviſed him to aſk 400,000*l.* for his brother to prorogue the parliament, and that the Duke of York had deſired Rouvigny to mention this to Louis; and the other, that the Duke had come down to 300,000 piſtoles. Theſe propoſals tally very well with the beginning of Coleman's correſpondence: Vide that correſpondence. This gave an opening for France to renew her ſecret money tranſactions with Charles.

N° IV.

Letters of Rouvigny and Courtin concerning four ſecret money treaties with France.

ROUVIGNY writes, 2d Sept. 1674, that Charles had agreed either to prorogue his parliament till April 1675, in conſideration of 500,000 crowns, or if he convened it in November, to diſſolve it in caſe it ſhould refuſe to give him money, in conſideration of which he was to have a penſion of 100,000 *l.* from France. Charles afterwards choſe the firſt of theſe alternatives, got his money, and France was enabled to carry on the war a year without any fear of an Engliſh parliament.—In the Depot.

This bargain paved the way to a formal treaty in the beginning of the year 1676, but executed in a very extraordinary manner between the two Princes, by which they obliged themſelves to enter into no treaties without mutual conſent, and Charles obliged himſelf to prorogue or diſſolve his parliament if it ſhould endeavour to force ſuch treaties upon him. The conſideration for this treaty was a penſion from France. I could not diſcover, from the diſpatches, what the amount of it was, but found ſeveral payments made to Charles in conſequence of it. The treaty was known to none but the Dukes of York and Lauderdale, and lord Danby.

The firſt of Rouvigny's letters in the Depot, which diſcloſes the King of England's wiſhes for a treaty at this time, is in the following words:

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. de Rouvigny to the King, 9th January, 1676.—Charles propoſes a new ſecret treaty with France.

"AFTERWARDS the Duke of York and Lauderdale ſupported his (that is Charles's) reaſons ſo ſtrongly, that the high Treaſurer gave way to them, ſo that it was agreed in this council to engage directly with your Majeſty if it was agreeable. The King of England informed me of it the ſame day, and preſſed me much to go to France to carry the news of it to your Majeſty, as he could not conſent that a ſecret, which in his opinion could not be too much hid, ſhould be truſted to paper, or to any perſon but myſelf. This obliged me to let your Majeſty know eight days ago that I ſhould ſoon depart without permiſſion; *but having more affection than ſtrength*, I have been obliged to ſtop, and write by my ſecretary. What the King of England charged me to make known to your Majeſty is, that he deſires paſſionately to unite himſelf ſtrictly with you; that without waiting till it can be done by a ſolemn treaty, it may be begun at preſent, in ſecret, by reciprocal promiſes in writing, which ſhould bind him, as well as your Majeſty, not to make any treaty with any ſtate whatever without the conſent of the other; or to give any aſſiſtance to the enemies or rebellious ſubjects of either: that if your Majeſty approves this project, you will ſend it by my ſecretary with a power to ſign it. This Prince alſo ſaid to me, that he had two reaſons which made it neceſſary for him to deſire paſſionately that your intereſt ſhould not hinder you from conſenting to exchange the places which hold Ghent and Bruſſels inveſted. Theſe are the peace and his people: that the States General will

will not make a peace as long as the towns in Flanders, which belong to the King of Spain, are ſeparated as they are by thoſe which are under your Majeſty's obedience, and are no more than frontiers: that as long as that province continues in its preſent ſtate, all England will be always perſuaded that your Majeſty can eaſily make a conqueſt of it whenever you pleaſe; and that nothing but this exchange can diſabuſe his people in the opinion they have long formed on that head: that he very well knows your Majeſty does not want good reaſons for not doing it; but he alſo believes you will conſent to an exchange, without which there will be no general peace, nor quiet in England till he has contented his people, all of whom are fully perſuaded that he abandons their intereſt, through an exceſs of affection for France: that this opinion raiſes all his ſubjects againſt him: that there are but two ways of bringing him out of ſo troubleſome an embarraſſment, and putting him in a condition to pleaſe his people: the firſt, that they may know that he has ſolicited, and obtained of your Majeſty, the exchange which will give peace, and the other, that to render it ſtable, he has entered into a treaty of guarantee with the Dutch for the preſervation of Flanders and the ſafety of England. This Prince continued to ſay that he would inform me before hand of all he ſhould be obliged to do, in order that his deſigns might be fully known to you, and that you might not hereafter have any ſuſpicion of his conduct, nor of the unalterable affection which he will have all his life for your Majeſty's intereſts. Theſe, Sire, are the things this Prince ſaid to me, and which I write in his preſence and cloſet."—In the Depot.

The other conditions of this treaty, as ſtated above, having been afterwards in the courſe of it propoſed and agreed

agreed to, it was executed in a mode that ſhows the miſerable ſtate to which an Engliſh Prince may be reduced, who thinks it is poſſible for him to have an intereſt of his own ſeparate from that of his people.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Monſ. Rouvigny to Louis the XIVth, 27 Feb. 1676.—Charles's miniſters afraid to be parties to the new money treaty with France.—Charles writes it himſelf.

SIRE,

" I ACQUAINTED Monſ. de Pomponne by the letter I ſent him the 17th of this month that the King of England having convened the Duke of York, the Duke of Lauderdale, and the high Treaſurer, to confer with them upon the paper which your Majeſty knows of, this laſt miniſter aſked time to examine it before he gave his opinion upon it. Buſineſs, or other reaſons have prevented him from doing it theſe ten days. In fine, the Treaſurer has been to ſee the Duke of Lauderdale, to whom he has repreſented the riſk they ſhould run of loſing their heads if they alone were to deliberate upon the treaty, and to ſign it. The King of England being informed of this, ſent for them and the Duke of York into his cloſet, where it being propoſed to admit into this council the high Chancellor and all the other miniſters, he told them, that he deſired nothing in the world more paſſionately than a good alliance with your Majeſty; that being mediator, the conjuncture of the time did not allow him to let people have the leaſt knowledge of his having concluded and ſigned a treaty with France; that the thing could not fail of being made public if brought before the council, or if he was obliged to make uſe of

his great ſeal: that to keep it an entire ſecret, he did not deſire his miniſters ſhould have any knowledge of it; that for this reaſon he would name no commiſſioners, nor give any powers; that he had reſolved to ſign the treaty with his own hand, and ſeal it with his ſeal in my preſence, as ſoon as he ſhould have agreed upon the articles with me; that he did not doubt your Majeſty would do the ſame, and that if you would aſſure him by a billet wrote with your own hand, that you had ſigned the treaty and affixed your ſeal to it, he would receive it with greater confidence than if one of his miniſters had been witneſs to it; that theſe three had only to examine in his preſence the project which I had put into his hands twenty days ago, and give him their thoughts upon it. This, Sire, is the reſult of this council, which the Duke of Lauderdale came to inform me of at my houſe by order of the King his maſter.

The King of England told me, that as he could not truſt an affair of this importance to his Secretaries of State (Coventry and Williamſon), he had reſolved for the greater ſecreſy to copy himſelf the inſtrument which I had given him, and to ſign it in my preſence: this he did yeſterday morning; after which he lighted a wax candle himſelf, and affixed his ſeal to his ſignature, at the ſame time ſaying that it was only a ſeal with his cypher, for that a little while ſince he had loſt the ſeal with his arms, which were engraved on a diamond of King James his grandfather, and which when the deceaſed King was upon the ſcaffold he gave to the Biſhop of London to be delivered into his hands: he afterwards called for the Duke of Lauderdale, who is the only one in whom on this occaſion he has put an entire confidence, and told him, that being preſſed to go to Windſor, he had charged him with my paper, which he had copied himſelf

himſelf word for word, and that he ordered him to ſee me ſign it, and to oblige me by a writing, in virtue of the full power your Majeſty was pleaſed to ſend me, that in twenty days or ſooner, if it could be done, I would tranſmit him a ſimilar treaty ſigned with your own hand, and ſealed with your privy ſeal, and expreſly enjoined him to take care to give him my writing at his return from Windſor. I diſpatch, Sire, my Secretary, for greater precaution, to carry to your Majeſty the treaty which the King of England hath wrote, ſigned, and ſealed before me, and to bring me back, if your Majeſty thinks proper, that which you will ſign and ſeal with your privy ſeal, together with the billet wrote with your hand as I have before mentioned.

Sire, your Majeſty may well ſee by all that has paſſed in this affair, that the King of England is in a manner abandoned by his miniſters, even the moſt confidential; that the Treaſurer, who fears the parliament much more than his maſter, and who is very oppoſite to the intereſts of France, thereby endeavouring to acquire the people's favour, has formed all the difficulties which I mentioned, with a deſign to hinder the treaty being concluded, or at leaſt to retard it. The Duke of Lauderdale has ſupported his maſter, having without compariſon more zeal and reſpect than his colleagues. The Duke of York, who is entirely in your Majeſty's intereſt, hath hardly troubled himſelf with theſe difficulties, becauſe he ſaw the King his brother was firm enough not to ſtand in need of his advice.

From all theſe circumſtances, your Majeſty will judge better of the ſtate of England, than from all I have repreſented in my letters: and it will be difficult to conceive, that a King ſhould be ſo abandoned by his ſubjects that even amongſt his miniſters he cannot find one in whom he can place an entire confidence. This ex-

ample will plainly ſhew your Majeſty that all England is againſt your intereſts, and that there is only the King of England and the Duke of York who embrace them with affection; and from thence your Majeſty will ſee that this treaty is neceſſary for the ſecurity of your ſervice, ſince it aſſures you that England will not be againſt you. It is true, Sire, that you will not reap all the aſſiſtance that might have been expected from a good alliance, but your enemies will have ſtill leſs than your Majeſty; and beſides, there is great reaſon to believe that the King of England, without this new tie which engages him more than ever in your intereſts, might have been drawn into his people's ſentiments. It will confirm his ſteadineſs ſo much, that his ſubjects, who have been ſurpriſed at it hitherto, may be ſo much aſtoniſhed for the future, as perhaps to conform to their maſter's intentions. The foundations are laid to work upon a deſign, which will be uſeful to England and France, in caſe it ſucceeds, and if it does not, your Majeſty's affairs in this kingdom will not be the worſe. In the mean time, God grant peace to Chriſtendom. The parliaments are to be feared, and it is a kind of miracle to ſee a King without arms and money reſiſt them ſo long."—In the Depot.

The ſame year in which this private treaty was made, the Dutch and Spaniards endeavoured to form a treaty with England for the protection of the Netherlands: Charles communicated this to Courtin, the French Ambaſſador, who upon that occaſion wrote thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 21ſt Sept. 1676:—" He (Charles) ſaid that he knew very well the engagement he was under not to treat with the States General, nor with any Prince without your participation and your conſent.—That he engaged

engaged his faith and honour to communicate to me all the articles of the treaty, and never to ſign any thing your Majeſty did not conſent to."—In the Depot.

Upon the peace between England and Holland, the Prince of Orange preſſed Charles to withdraw the Engliſh troops which were in the pay of France. From Rouvigny's diſpatches in the Depot, it appears that Charles often expreſſed, in very ſtrong terms, that he thought his own conduct ignominious in deſerting France in the war: and with regard to recalling theſe troops, Rouvigny writes, 19 February, 1674:—"And with regard to the Engliſh troops in France, he told me more poſitively than his miniſter had done, that he would not recall them, whatever inſtance ſhould be made to him, either by the Spaniards or Dutch, or even by the parliament." He was as good as his word, for he afterwards rejected the advice of his parliament upon that head.

It is known that Charles afterwards promiſed the Prince of Orange not to permit theſe troops to be recruited; they however always were recruited, and the diſpatches in the Depot ſhow that Charles aſſured France it always ſhould be ſo.

The general train of the French diſpatches in the Depot, during the negotiations at Nimeguen, ſhows, that while Charles was acting as mediator of the peace, he gave France intelligence of the views of her enemies, and acted in concert with her. Sir William Temple's printed letters ſhow that the unfortunate ſucceſs of the campaign of the year 1676, had made the Dutch, and

even the Prince, anxious for a peace; and that the Prince gave Sir William leave to let his maſter know it. Upon this occaſion Courtin, in a letter to Louis the XIVth, 5th November, 1676, writes thus:—"He took me into a cloſet, where, after having ſhut the door, I have, ſaid he, good news to tell you, which is, that I believe I have at this inſtant the peace in my own hands. He charged me to conjure your Majeſty, inſtantly, to let him know your intentions, to the end that upon this knowledge he may regulate himſelf to make a propoſal."—In the Depot.

It appears from many of the diſpatches, that the French court prevented the Prince of Orange's marriage with the Lady Mary, in the year 1674; that upon this occaſion the King and Duke expreſſed ſtrongly their diſlike of the Prince of Orange; and that the Duke of York flattered himſelf with the proſpect of marrying her to the Dauphin of France.

The 500,000 crowns above mentioned, which Louis ſecretly gave Charles in the year 1674, to prorogue his parliament till April, 1675, ſaved France from the poſſibility of an Engliſh armament in the campaign of the year 1675; and the abovementioned ſecret penſion given in the beginning of the year 1676, made him ſecure of Charles's baffling the attempts of his parliament to engage him in a war with France in the campaign of the year 1676: but in the beginning of the year 1677, the clamours of parliament and of the nation having encreaſed for a war with France, the French redoubled their

their attentions to Charles, the particulars of which follow.

The ſeſſion, 1677, was opened with Charles's becoming the inſtrument of bribing his own ſubjects, with French money, to prevent a French war. Courtin writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 14th February, 1677:—"I received the bill of exchange, for 11,000*l.* ſterling, on the October quarter: it came very apropos, for the King of England wanted money to gain thoſe who are accuſtomed to make a noiſe only in order to be the better bought."

On the 1ſt April, 1677, he writes thus again:—"To my knowledge, he (Charles) has diſtributed all the money he received from my hands, to gain the votes he ſtood in need of: he has ſo well ſerved the King to this hour, that he deſerves to be aſſiſted in his neceſſities, and it will be very important to take care to keep him in the good diſpoſition in which I left him yeſterday evening."

Courtin aſſigns this very extraordinary reaſon for urging his court to ſend money to Charles to be diſtributed among the members of parliament, to wit, that Spain and the Emperor were ſending money to be diſtributed among them on the other ſide. On the 13th May, 1677, he writes thus to his court:—"It is even very important that your Majeſty ſhould ſend here the firſt payment of the ſubſidy. Mr. Bergick and the Emperor's envoy will have two hundred and fifty thouſand livres to diſtribute in the lower Houſe. They will do more with this than could be done on your Majeſty's part with two millions." On the 20th May, 1677, he writes to his court thus:—"Mr. Bergick has not received 50,000 crowns, and the Emperor's Envoy 10,000 piſtoles, but with this deſign."

On

On the 22d February, 1677, Courtin adviſes his court to offer 400,000 crowns extraordinary to Charles to prorogue or diſſolve his parliament.

On the 21ſt April, 1677, Courtin's diſpatch bears, that he had got a power to make this offer. What conſequence this had does not appear.

But as the ſeſſion of parliament roſe in its heat, the French roſe in their offers to Charles. Courtin's letter of June 21, 1677, bears, that he had got a power to go as far as 200,000*l.* to be given to Charles for the enſuing year.

On the 12th July, 1677, Courtin writes, that he had offered Charles a penſion of 500,000 crowns to prorogue or diſſolve his parliament, together with the aſſiſtance of Louis's forces, to maintain Charles's authority. The words with regard to this laſt offer are theſe: "His Majeſty (that is, Louis) being always ready to employ all his forces for the confirmation and augmentation of his (that is, Charles's) authority, he will always be maſter of his ſubjects, and will never depend upon them."

On the 18th July, 1677, Courtin writes, that Charles had inſiſted for 800,000 crowns, in conſideration of which, he offered to prorogue the parliament till the end of April, 1678.

In a ſubſequent letter he writes that he is diſputing about the ſum, that Lord Danby always raiſed it, but the Duke of York brought it down again.

At laſt, on the 5th of Auguſt, it was fixed at two millions of livres. The following diſpatch will explain the terms on which this money was ſecretly given by France:

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Courtin to Louis the XIVth, 5th Auguſt, 1677.—Charles has agreed to prorogue his parliament till May, 1678, in conſideration of two millions of livres from France.

"MY Lord Treaſurer and I have had great conteſts theſe three days; he did every thing to perſuade the King his maſter that he could not ſubſiſt this year unleſs your Majeſty gave him eight hundred thouſand crowns. He even ſaid, in my preſence, that your Majeſty hazarded nothing but money, whereas the King of England hazarded his crown, by oppoſing, as he did, the univerſal deſire of his ſubjects. I remained firm in not exhauſting the power your Majeſty was pleaſed to give me. In fine, after many conferences, I have agreed upon all things in ſuch a way as makes me hope your Majeſty will not diſavow me. The King of England has given me a poſitive aſſurance that he will adjourn his parliament from the 13th of December to the end of April, that is, to the 9th or 10th of May according to the French ſtile. I promiſed that your Majeſty would pay him this year two millions of livres. But though the laſt payment ſhould not be made till three or four months after the month of December, his Britannic Majeſty would have no cauſe to complain. But becauſe I repreſented to him that it was not leſs his intereſt than your Majeſty's to inform the miniſters of the confederates in good time of this reſolution, in order to remove all the hopes their maſters ſtill entertain of England taking part with them; the King of England acknowledged it was the moſt efficacious means he could employ to diſpoſe your Majeſty's enemies to a peace, and promiſed me, that

that as ſoon as Mr. de Bergeik takes leave of him (which will be in a few days), he will give him in charge to declare on his part to the King of Spain, that no conſideration is capable of making him enter into the preſent war; and that in order to his being able to apply himſelf entirely to procure a peace by his mediation, he had reſolved not to aſſemble his parliament during the winter, but to poſtpone it till the ſpring.

His Majeſty alſo gave me his word to make the ſame declaration to all the other miniſters of the confederates at the ſame time: Thus, inſtead of your Majeſty's deſire (agreeable to your orders of the 20th of laſt month), that this reſolution ſhould be made known towards the end of October, I can aſſure you that the report will be ſpread throughout all England before the 1ſt of September, and that by the 15th of the ſame month the truth of it will be known at the Hague, Copenhagen, Berlin, Vienna, and Madrid."—In the Depot.

After the bargain was ſtruck, Mountague, who was Ambaſſador in France, and Lord Danby, prevailed on King Charles to pretend that he had made a miſtake in valuing two millions of livres at 200,000 *l.* and to inſiſt that the ſum ſhould be 200,000 *l.* neat. Vide the Duke of Leeds's printed letters on this ſubject. The accident of Courtin returning to France, and Barillon, a new Ambaſſador, coming in his place, made this game the more eaſy to be played. The following diſpatch will ſhew the ſtrange comedy which a King of England acted concerning this pretended miſtake in calculation:

Extract of a letter from Mr. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 4th October, 1677.—Charles tries to get the two millions of livres turned into 200,000 l.

AFTER this, Sire, I thought it right to bring upon the carpet the affair of the two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; and told the King of England your Majeſty's ſurpriſe that Mr. Montagu ſhould renew an affair already finiſhed: He immediately interrupted me, and ſaid, In the name of God, do not ſpeak to me of this affair; I am ſo confuſed about it, that I cannot bear its being ſpoken of: Go to the Treaſurer, and do as you and he ſhall underſtand the matter; as to myſelf, I am driven to deſpair whenever it is mentioned to me. I anſwered, But, Sire, your Majeſty very well knows, that ſending me to the Treaſurer, is embarraſſing the affair afreſh, for the Treaſurer will not give it up: He lately made a difference about the hundred thouſand crowns which had been paid; and as he ſaw your Majeſty had condemned that pretenſion, he now forms a new difficulty: Even Mr. Courtin, whom your Majeſty would not wiſh to hurt with the King his maſter, finds himſelf involved in this matter. It has been ſaid he did not rightly comprehend what paſſed between your Majeſty and him, and that he was to blame in repreſenting an affair as finiſhed, on which you had only ſpoken ſome civil words. The King of England, whoſe patience was at an end with this diſcourſe, ſaid they were to blame who caſt reflections on Mr. Courtin; that it was not his fault, and that what he had written was true; but that himſelf who ſpoke to me was deceived in the value of the money, and that he had not comprehended right the difference between that of France and England: In ſaying this he conducted me to the door of the chamber, which

he opened himſelf, and again repeated, I am ſo aſhamed that I cannot ſpeak any more to you: go ſee the Treaſurer, for he has made known to me ſuch large wants, and ſo great a neceſſity in my affairs, that I cannot believe the King my brother will leave me in this embarraſſment.—In the Depot.

The penſion ſtipulated in this bargain was regularly paid: Charles was ſometimes premature in his demands: Barillon, even before the diſpute about the 200,000*l.* was ended, writes thus to his court, on the 20th September, 1677:—"Mr. Chiffinch is very careful to pay me viſits; and the firſt functions of my embaſſy have been to ſign orders for paying bills of exchange."

During this period Courtin, in a letter to his court, 28th January, 1677, deſcribes the ſentiments of the King and his brother, and of the nation, thus:—"I can anſwer for it to your Majeſty, that there are none of your own ſubjects who wiſh you better ſucceſs in all your undertakings than theſe two princes do. But it is alſo true, that you cannot count upon any except theſe two friends in all England."

And in another letter, of date 21ſt June, 1677, he writes, that Charles had given him a note of the terms on which he thought peace ſhould be made; adding,—"That nevertheleſs he does not incline to propoſe any thing, without knowing previouſly the intentions of your Majeſty."—And that Charles concluded with aſking 200,000*l.* for himſelf for the enſuing year.

N° V.

The Prince of Orange's knowledge of theſe treaties.

AT an after-period the Prince of Orange came to the knowledge of theſe intrigues of the Engliſh and French courts againſt him; for in his box I found a relation of them, dated January, 168⅚, by Blancard, ſecretary to Rouvigny, the ſame ſecretary whom Rouvigny mentions in the above letter of 27th February, 1676, to have been ſent over by him to France with the ſecret treaty written in King Charles's hand.

Extract from the memorial of Blancard, ſecretary to Rouvigny.—Gives a relation of the ſecret intrigues of the French and Engliſh courts.

Tranſlation.

"IT is above twenty years ago, ſince in quality of ſecretary to the Marquis of Rouvigny, I went frequently with him from France to England; and was in the knowledge of a great number of very ſecret affairs between the two Kings, of which it is not neceſſary to make a detail. I will limit myſelf only to two or three conſiderable things, which I ſhall tell briefly, with a view to ſerve the Proteſtants in general, who may have occaſion to treat with the King of England, or the King of France, viz. the States General of the United Provinces, and the Prince of Orange, againſt both of whom they have continually acted ſince the breach of the triple alliance in the years 1670 and 1672.

When the peace was negotiating at Cologne and Nimeguen, and the King of England was mediator of it, the King of France found means to gain him by money; and they made a ſeparate treaty together in 1676, altogether advantageous to France, who was thereby aſſured of him, and even of his parliament, by an obligation to prorogue or diſſolve it. What was ſingular in this treaty, and which is perhaps without example, is, that it was made without the interpoſition of Embaſſadors or Commiſſaries, and without ratification, becauſe the two Kings acted by themſelves alone as if they had met together. The reaſon of this was, that the Miniſters of State both of the King of England and Duke of York did not incline it ſhould appear that they had any knowledge of it; which went ſo far that none of them would put their hand to write the articles of the treaty, fearing to be puniſhed if the parliament came to the knowledge of it. By which the King of England himſelf was put under the neceſſity of writing a pretty long treaty, all with his own hand. I carried it alſo to the court of France. Monſieur Louvois and Monſieur Pomponne, when they ſaw me, aſked me if I brought the treaty. I told them I had, and even written with the King of England's hand in place of his miniſters, which they could not believe till I ſhewed it to them. They went immediately with joy to carry the treaty with the circumſtances of it to the King, who ought, according to rules, to have written with his own hand another original of the ſame treaty to the King of England. But to ſave himſelf, he feigned a ſmall indiſpoſition, and that I was in a haſte to depart. And thus the King of France ſent the treaty written by another hand, with which the King of England was obliged to be contented, for the reaſons which they gave him. It was the more eaſy to make him ſatisfied with them that he ſoon after

after touched money, about 400,000 crowns. In proportion as the money was paid him, he gave a diſcharge ſigned with his hand, of which ſome are written in my hand; and his miniſters knew nothing of it, only Mr. Chiffins, his valet de chambre and confidant, to whoſe lodgings the money was carried, and with whom I went to the merchants houſes to receive it.

Although the two Kings were thus perfectly united together in ſecret, it was agreed that they ſhould act ſo as not to ſhow any intelligence, becauſe that would have hindered the general peace which was negotiating, and which France wiſhed ardently ſince the year 1674, when the Engliſh parliament forced their King to make peace with Holland; the parliament wiſhed alſo to oblige him to declare againſt the King of France, by cauſing him to be told in ſecret, that they would give him more money than he drew from him, and that they would put him in a condition to have Dunkirk without paying back the 5,000,000, or 6,000,000 which he had touched when he ſold it. They offered him at the ſame time two powerful armies by ſea and by land to make an invaſion. But means were found to prevent him from liſtening to any thing on that ſide; and he wrote to the King of France, and ſaid to his miniſters that he had acted a mean part in abandoning him, but that he would not do it twice in declaring againſt him.

When the two Kings united to declare the war againſt Holland, they had counted that they would ruin the republic in one campaign, and that they would give ſo mortal a blow there to the Proteſtant religion, that afterwards they could overturn it through all Europe. This was their principal view, and to divide the ſeven United Provinces between them, without giving a part to the Prince of Orange, who was not then conſidered, and whom they had a deſign to eſtabliſh elſewhere, ſuch

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as on the ſide of Orange, in order that his name and his family might not continue longer in the Low Countries, and that he might never give jealouſy to France.

At the time even of this great union between the two Kings, the French King deceived the Engliſh. For there was no deſign to give him all that was promiſed him when they made the diviſion before-hand of the Seven Provinces. They did not intend that he or his ſucceſſors ſhould be powerful upon the coaſts of Holland or Flanders, becauſe the King of France might ſome day find a new embarraſſment in the deſign which he had of reuniting all the Spaniſh Low Countries to his crown.

So many great projects having failed, the King of France and his three miniſters felt a mortal vexation, and the more, that the Prince of Orange began to be powerfully eſtabliſhed, and to change the face of the affairs of the Dutch. The taking of Naerden and of Bonne undeceiving ſo much the court of France, even the Prince of Conde and Monſieur de Turenne, who then engaged entirely in counſels together, they took new meaſures, ſo as to abandon Utrecht and the other conqueſts, and to apply themſelves to peace.

They reſolved alſo in the French court, in order to hinder the aggrandizement of the Prince of Orange, to prevail with the King of England and the Duke of York not to give him the Princeſs Mary in marriage, or at leaſt not till after the peace. The deferring of the marriage was promiſed ſo poſitively, that it was retarded for three or four years; and even to hinder their thinking of it, Monſieur de Croiſſy gave hopes in the year 1673, that this Princeſs might marry the Dauphin. Mr. Coleman believed it, and wiſhed it ardently, and told me that the Duke of York his maſter hoped for it. Monſieur de Rouvigny did not diſabuſe them, although he knew that the court of France intended to marry the Dauphin

Dauphin elſewhere. As that Court knew that the Duke of York expected this alliance, they imagined he might give the Princeſs his daughter to a Prince of the Blood of France. They ſent orders upon this to Monſieur de Rouvigny to propoſe the Prince of Conty to him. But he did not ſpeak of it to the Duke of York; for he knew that he would have refuſed it in a rage, ſince he had hopes of the Dauphin. He wrote his reaſons to the King of France, who approved of his not having obeyed his orders, and they left the Duke of York in his hopes. I had at that time the honour to ſpeak to him ſometimes, and I was often upon the point of diſabuſing him, becauſe he loved the King of France, and kept good faith with him while he was deceived by him."—In King William's cabinet.

CHAP. III.

From the Prince of Orange's marriage in the year 1677, till the fall of Lord Danby's miniſtry in the year 1679.

The King hopes in vain to cloſe diviſions by the Prince of Orange's marriage.

IN vain Charles hoped, by giving his brother's daughter in marriage to the Prince of Orange, in the year 1677, to recover the popularity which he and his brother had loſt. During the firſt Dutch war, De Wit paid the moſt dangerous court to the diſcontented party in England *. During the ſecond †, the Prince of Orange formed a regular party in it, ſcarcely needing to court men, who, in the cauſe of both counties, threw their arms open to receive him. From the concluſion of the peace, until his marriage ‡, he preſerved the ſame connections, although he had made Charles hope, that he was to break them off. To the people, not to the nobles or the orders of the ſtate, the Prince had owed his elevation §. Hence a ſimilarity of ſentiments and ſituation between his party in Holland, and the popular party in England. The intereſts of religion too, which at that time were more attended to than they are now, knit the individuals of the two countries together, by the ſtricteſt

* D'Eſtrades, 1665.

† Lord Oſſory's letter in Carte's Ormond, 447. and Sir William Temple.

‡ Sir William Temple. Lord Oſſory's letter.

§ D'Avaux, vol. 1. p. 1, & ſeq.

bands

bands of private friendſhip. Many of the Engliſh officers, after the army was diſbanded, and of the clergy, after the diſſenting clergy were ejected, ſettled in Holland. Theſe men formed themſelves into political councils, and kept up correſpondences with ſimilar councils of their friends eſtabliſhed in England: To the intrigues of this party, in ſome meaſure, were owing the late differences between Charles and his parliament. In the year 1674, before differences were come to any height between Charles and the houſe of commons, the Prince had declined a marriage with the Duke's daughter *, although it was offered. But now, when the breach was greatly widened, he preſſed for the marriage, either to cloſe the diviſions of England, or to turn them to his own advantage. In the courſe of the tranſaction, ſome doubtful preſages broke forth; for, when the Prince, who was then in England, got not the anſwer to his propoſal ſo ſoon as he expected, he deſired Sir William Temple to inform the King, "That they muſt thenceforth live as the greateſt friends, or the greateſt foes;" and the Duke yielded to the marriage from complaiſance to his brother, but exceedingly againſt his own inclinations.

A ſucceſſion of hopes and fears, of confidence and diſtruſt, of compliments and apologies, between the Prince and the two royal brothers, was the conſequence of the marriage. But, as it is natural for the human mind to attach itſelf to whatever is oppoſite to the object of its diſlike, that popularity in England which Charles and his brother loſt, becauſe they were connected with the French and popiſh intereſts, the Prince of Orange gained, becauſe he was accounted the bulwark againſt both. With great ability he improved this advantage. From the neighbourhood of his reſidence to England,

* Sir William Temple. Lord Offory's letter.

all flocked to pay their court to him; ſome in compliment to the King, others from a view to the future ſucceſſion, and perhaps a few more daring ſpirits to anticipate it. The reſpect with which he received the King's party in public, he avowed to the popular party in private. After his marriage the ſecretaries of ſtate had orders to correſpond * officially with him. His ſituation, with regard to Engliſh affairs, gave him many opportunities, in other reſpects, to gain ſucceſſively the King's miniſters. He treated them with the equality, he correſponded with them with the ſimplicity, of private friendſhip. By compliments to the good and the brave, he procured friends; and, as he had no title to give reprehenſions, he drew no enemies upon himſelf †.

Breach between Charles and Louis.

Lord Danby was the perſon who brought about the Prince of Orange's marriage, both with the King and the Prince; partly from his averſion to France, but more to ſtop the current of popular fury; for a miniſter in England is always ſure, that the ſtorms raiſed againſt the crown will fall firſt upon him. For the ſame reaſons he endeavoured to break off all connection between his maſter and France. Louis XIV. had, for many years, uſed many arts to obſtruct the approaches to a marriage between the Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary, and had even buoyed up the Duke of York with the falſe hopes of an alliance

* There is in the Paper-office a vaſt number of copies of official letters to him, and theſe diſcover many curious circumſtances of the times.

The preſent eſtabliſhment of the Paper-office does great honour to his Majeſty's reign, and to the memory of the late Mr. Grenville. During his adminiſtration, a commiſſion was directed to three gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed knowledge and induſtry, to put the ſtate papers of England, which formerly were a maſs of confuſion, into order. And theſe gentlemen are, with much fidelity, executing their duty to the public.

† King William's letters are the beſt written of the age in which he lived.

with

with the Dauphin. But now Lord Danby perſuaded the King to conclude the marriage-treaty, without acquainting the French court with his intention at all; and the marriage was no ſooner celebrated, than the Prince and he prevailed upon Charles to ſend Lord Duras, afterwards Earl of Feverſham, ambaſſador to Louis, to threaten him with war, if he did not make peace with the allies upon the terms carried by Lord Duras, and to demand back the Engliſh troops in the French ſervice.

A few days after the departure of Lord Duras, the Prince of Orange returned into Holland; but he had hardly loſt ſight of the coaſts of England, when Charles, either from fickleneſs and fear, or from the habit of a duplicity which ran through all the conduct of his life, made advances to France. He iſſued a proclamation for proroguing the parliament to April 1678, as by his late ſecret treaty with Louis he had promiſed to do: He made an apology in private to Barillon for Lord Duras's embaſſy; he permitted Duras to treat, inſtead of perſiſting in the original order for him to return in two days if he did not get a poſitive anſwer from Louis: He iſſued no proclamation to recal the Britiſh troops; and he told Barillon in private, that he would not recal thoſe troops in a haſte, and that he intended no war.

But Louis deſpiſing ſuch conduct, equally whether it proceeded from art or from weakneſs, ſtopped the penſion provided for Charles by the late treaty, pretending to indemnify him, by offering him certain towns in Flanders, if he would not interfere in the war gave a flat refuſal to the terms of peace brought by Lord Duras, prepared to ſend his troops into Flanders, and ſoon after marched himſelf at their head, laid ſiege to Ipres and Ghent, and took them *.

* Vid. Appendix to this book, No. 1.

Charles, then, at laſt, either touched with the loſs of his ſubſidy, or hurt in his pride, revoked the proclamation which had put off the meeting of parliament till April 1678, ordered it to meet immediately, viz. in the month of January, haſtily ſtruck up a league offenſive and defenſive with the Dutch, informed parliament of the meaſures he had taken againſt France, aſked ſupplies to ſupport them, raiſed an army, and ſent his ſon the young Duke of Monmouth with part of it into Flanders. Even the Duke of York animated him to the war; for though, while the rupture was forming between the two Kings, he had, with tears in his eyes, adjured Barillon to prevent the march of the French troops into Flanders; yet he afterwards formed a project of getting a great army raiſed, under the pretence of the war, of taking the command of it himſelf, and of making it the great inſtrument to ſecure his brother's power and his own ſafety. By appearing publicly for a war with France, he hoped too to gain popularity in the mean time to himſelf.

The popular party and the French court join intereſts.

But theſe views were diſappointed by the ſudden junction of intereſts in the beginning of the year 1678, between the French court and the popular party in the Engliſh parliament; both of whom happened at that time to have the ſame common objects to purſue. It was the intereſt of Louis to render ineffectual any union between Charles and the Prince of Orange, to get the Engliſh army of 20,000 men diſbanded (which, to the aſtoniſhment of Europe, had been raiſed in the ſpace of ſix weeks), and a parliament diſſolved which had repeatedly addreſſed Charles for a war againſt him, and to overturn a miniſter who was continually urging his maſter to the ſame war. The popular party again dreaded, in the ſtrength which that union in the royal family, and that army, would confer upon their ſovereign, the loſs of their own liberties; they hoped in a new parlia-

parliament, choſen in a popular ferment, to gain new ſtrength to themſelves, and they wiſhed to pull down Lord Danby for the ſame reaſon for which every oppoſition wiſhes to pull down every miniſter. Barillon, lately ſent ambaſſador from France, received the firſt advances from ſome of the Engliſh for this junction; but Rouvigney, becauſe he had more experience in Engliſh affairs, was immediately ſent over to England to aſſiſt him in an intrigue of ſuch infinite conſequence to France.

Men ſeldom change their principles, or rather their tempers and paſſions, from the cradle to the grave. There is hardly a political exception from the rule in Engliſh hiſtory, except in Lord Strafford and the Marquis of Montroſe, both of whom were cut off by violent deaths before it could be known whether they would have continued exceptions from the rule to the end. The intercourſe with Barillon and Rouvigney was at firſt managed by Lord Hollis, one of the five whom the King's father had gone into the Houſe of Commons to ſeize with his own hands; by Lord Shaftſbury, who, next to Cromwell, had done the moſt hurt to the royal cauſe in the late reign; by the Duke of Buckingham, who had never been attached to his maſter even while he followed his fortunes as an exile in foreign countries; and by Lord Ruſſel, who was drawn into it by the confidence he put in Rouvigney, who was his relation and friend, and by the unſurmountable jealouſy which he entertained of the intentions of the King and the Duke to deſtroy the religion and liberties of their country. Algernon Sidney, formerly ſo famous for his republican actions, and afterwards ſo famous by his republican writings and republican death, ſoon joined in the intrigue. After it had been for ſome months conducted between theſe perſons and a few more, with the two French emiſſaries, it took a more regular form, when a conſiderable number of the

popular party ſent a ſpecial meſſenger, one Faliſſeau, to France, to form a regular communication of intereſts and meaſures directly with the French court itſelf. The meaſures either agreed upon or underſtood were, that the popular party, by diſtracting the King's buſineſs in parliament, ſhould oblige him to diſband his army, to diſſolve his parliament, and to diſmiſs his miniſter Lord Danby; and that Louis ſhould aſſiſt them in protecting the liberties of their country againſt all who ſhould invade them. In order to ſupport the party, money was diſtributed among many of them. Buckingham took much, and aſked more; and it was probably his ſole object from the beginning. Lord Hollis was offered a box of diamonds in value 1500*l.* under the pretence, that it had been forgot to be given to him when he quitted his embaſſy in France; he refuſed it in a way which ſhewed he would afterwards accept, but died before the offer was renewed. When Rouvigney told Lord Ruſſel that he was charged with money from his court, and aſked his advice to whom he ſhould give it, Lord Ruſſel, with a juſt ſenſe of his own honour, anſwered, "he "ſhould be very ſorry to have any connection with per-"ſons capable of being gained by money;" yet, blinded by party to the honour of others, added, that "the pro-"poſal pleaſed him, becauſe it ſhewed him that there "was no private underſtanding between the two Kings "againſt the liberties of England." Sidney received money more than once, either preſſed by his ſtraits, or intending to employ it in the political ſervices of party, or reconciling his conduct to his pride, by the reflection that all arts were fair to overturn that monarchy which he abhorred, and introduce that latitude in religion which he adored. Nothing was offered to Shaftſbury, either becauſe he was deemed too cautious, or too rich to be bribed without ſuch a ſum as was grudged by the French court,

court, or because it was believed that he was prone enough from revenge, without the incitements of intereſt, to give diſturbance to his maſter.

A connection ſo ſtrange, and ſo ſecretly conducted, produced the moſt irregular effects in the Engliſh parliament. The Houſe of Commons preſſed their ſovereign to enter into a war with France, which they would not give him money to ſupport; to levy an army, which they diſbanded almoſt as ſoon as it was raiſed; and to enter into alliances which they afterwards diſapproved. Haraſſed, perplexed, diſtracted, Charles little ſuſpected the inviſible hand which dealt all theſe miſchiefs around him *.

Private treaty in May 1678 between Louis and Charles.

But while Louis was treating with Charles's ſubjects unknown to him, he was treating with him unknown to them, to gain the ſame great object, ſecurity from the arms of England, and from the natural paſſions of an Engliſh parliament againſt France. In May of the year 1678, he concluded a private treaty with Charles, by which, in conſideration of ſix millions of livres, Charles engaged to diſband his army, to ſtand neuter in the war, if the allies would not accept the terms which France was at that time offering them, and not to aſſemble his parliament for ſix months. The Duke and Lord Danby were the only perſons privy to the treaty; the former of whom promoted, and the other oppoſed it as much as he could. Charles was obliged to write it with his own hand, in order to keep it a ſecret from all others *.

Double game of Louis, and Charles: Charles the dupe of it.

The terms, which had been offered by France to the allies, were ſoon after accepted by the Dutch, who dreaded equally to be abandoned by the unſteadineſs of Charles, and by the factions of his ſubjects. Part of

* Vid. Appendix to this Chap. No. 2. † Ibid.

theſe

theſe terms were, that Louis ſhould evacuate a great part of his conqueſts in the Spaniſh Netherlands. But after he had bought off Charles, and made a ſeparate peace with the Dutch, he thought he might treat Spain as he pleaſed, and therefore refuſed to evacuate his conqueſts until ſatisfaction ſhould be made to his allies the Swedes. All Europe cried aloud againſt the breach of faith. Spain and Holland linked themſelves together more cloſely than ever, and called upon England for help.

The opportunity appeared to Charles to be fair for playing that double game in which he took delight, and to enhance the price of his friendſhip to France. On the one hand he concluded a treaty by means of Sir William Temple with the Dutch, by which he engaged to join in war againſt France, if ſhe did not, without any regard to the intereſts of Sweden, evacuate the Spaniſh towns within two months; and on the other hand he offered privately a treaty to Louis, by which, in conſideration of a penſion of ſix millions of livres for one year, and four millions for two more, he was to join him in favour of the Swedes, to furniſh a fleet and army for their ſervice paid by France, and to obſerve a neutrality in Flanders; a treaty which Charles wiſhed for the more, becauſe it would have given him a pretence for keeping up an army independent of parliament, and without its conſent: Views which, if they had been known at the time, might, if any thing could, have juſtified the imprudence of his ſubjects in intriguing with France.

But deſpiſing and inſulting the artifices of Charles, Louis betrayed the ſecret to the allies, concluded the terms of peace with the Dutch at Nimeguen, purſued meaſures to bring the Spaniards into them, and ſtopped the penſion which he had engaged to pay Charles by the private

private treaty made with him in the preceding month of May.

Charles upon this, for once in his life, became ſincere, and by promiſes and embaſſies, and by great bodies of troops ſent to Flanders, endeavoured to prevail upon the Dutch to diſown the peace which their ambaſſadors had juſt concluded, and the Spaniards to refuſe their acceſſion to it. The Dutch, willing to engage him in a war with France, and to keep free of it themſelves *, encouraged his ardour, but kept clear of its influence. The Spaniards followed their example, and the general peace of Chriſtendom was eſtabliſhed at Nimeguen. Breach widened between Charles and Louis.

But while Charles was ſpending his anger every where in vain againſt France, ſhe was ſecretly preparing a mine to blow up his miniſter, and expoſe himſelf, by getting one of his own ſervants to lay before parliament one of thoſe ſecret money tranſactions into which ſhe had herſelf drawn him †. Mr. Montague, afterwards Duke of Montague, who had lately been ambaſſador in France, was provoked againſt Lord Danby for having preferred Sir William Temple to him in a competition for the office of ſecretary of ſtate, and made an offer to the French court, that, for a hundred thouſand crowns, he would ruin Lord Danby, by betraying to parliament Danby's correſpondence concerning one of the private money treaties with France. His offer was accepted. In an abſolute monarchy thoſe in power are every thing, and thoſe out of it nothing; but in free governments, ſimple individuals command often the fates of them. A private Engliſh gentleman concerted ſlowly and ſurely, with a foreigner who could not even ſpeak the language of England, the ruin of a great miniſter, Intrigue of the ruin of Lord Danby.

* Fagel once let this intention drop to Sir William Temple. Vid. Sir William's Memoirs. Compare alſo the paſſage from Lord North's Memoirs in North's Exam. p. 474.

† Vid. Appendix to this Chapter, No. IV.

the favourite of his prince, the friend of the people, as much as one of Charles's miniſters could be, and in the plenitude of ſecurity. The ſcheme was by degrees imparted to others of the popular party. Even Lord Halifax, from the receſſes of the court, joined in it to riſe on the ruins of Lord Danby. Algernon Sidney was the perſon who managed the correſpondence privately between Barillon and him concerning it; but the intended attack was put off from time to time for ſome months, becauſe the popular leaders could not agree among themſelves upon the time of making it; ſome thinking that it ſhould not be done until the army was diſbanded, and others, that it was the ſureſt way to get it diſbanded.

In the mean time another attack was preparing, which proved ſtill more fatal to Charles and his brother.

Shafteſbury contrives the popiſh plot.

The moſt deſperate enemy is a friend provoked. Shafteſbury, who had joined with the King and the Duke to exalt the power of the crown, becauſe it exalted his own; but who, when deſerted by the King, had put himſelf at the head of the people, to gratify his revenge, to ſecure his ſafety, and to open a new field for his ambition; a man inſinuating impoſing in private, eloquent daring in public, full of reſources in both; who had been bred up in the ſchools of civil commotion, in the long parliament, in Cromwell's revolutions, and in thoſe which followed Cromwell's death, and who, from that education, knew well the power of popular rumours, at times when popular paſſions are in ferment, had, while the attack upon Danby was projecting, framed the fiction of the popiſh plot, in order to bury the Duke, and perhaps the King, under the weight of the national fear and hatred of popery *. Shafteſbury was ſtimulated too,

* It has been much doubted whether Shafteſbury contrived the popiſh plot, or if he only made uſe of it, after it broke out. Some papers

too, by offences both given and received. For the King * having ſaid to him, "Shafteſbury, thou art the "greateſt rogue in the kingdom;" he anſwered, bowing, "Of a ſubject, Sir." And the Duke having rated him in paſſionate terms for one of his ſpeeches in parliament, "I am glad," ſaid he, "your Royal Highneſs "has not called me alſo papiſt and coward." The account of this plot, in which was involved the aſſaſſination of Charles and his brother, an invaſion, the conflagration of the city, and a maſſacre of the proteſtants, was calculated, in its great lines, to gain the attention of the higher ranks of the nation, and, by the familiarity and detail of its circumſtances, to catch the credulity of the meaneſt of the populace. By making the Duke one of the objects of the pretended aſſaſſination, it prevented the ſuſpicion of its being directed againſt him; and, by accuſing the Queen, whom the King did not love, it gave a chance for ſeparating the intereſts of the brothers. The information, as ſoon as given, flew inſtantly abroad. Even the marvelouſneſs of the ſtory gave credit to what it was almoſt impoſſible to believe human fiction could have invented. Accident after accident ariſing in a manner unparalleled in hiſtory, concurred to maintain the

papers I have ſeen convince me he contrived it, though the perſons he made uſe of as informers ran beyond their inſtructions. The common objection to the ſuppoſition of his contriving the plot, is, the abſurdity of its circumſtances. When Shafteſbury himſelf was preſſed with regard to that abſurdity, he made an anſwer which ſhows equally the irregularity and the depth of his genius. An account of it is in North's Examen, p. 95. "A certain Lord of his confidence "in parliament, once aſked him what he intended to do with the plot, "which was ſo full of nonſenſe as would ſcarce go down with *tantum* "*ses* ideots; what then could he propoſe by preſſing the belief of it "upon men of common ſenſe, and eſpecially in parliament?"—"It "is no matter," ſaid he, "the more nonſenſical the better; if we "cannot bring them to ſwallow worſe nonſenſe than that, we ſhall "never do any good with them."

* Mr. Walpole.

deluſion. But above all, the murder of Godfrey, who, in his office of a magiſtrate, had made the plot public, cauſed almoſt every proteſtant to imagine, he felt the dagger in his breaſt. Shafteſbury knew too well the nature of the human mind, not to improve upon this laſt accident. He ſuggeſted to his faction, to bring the eye in aid of the imagination, in order to complete the terrors of the people. The dead body, ghaſtly and with the ſword fixed in it, and lying on a bier, was expoſed during two days in the public ſtreet. It was carried in proceſſion through the city of London to the grave, as the remains of a martyr to the proteſtant religion, ſeventy-two clergymen walking before, near a thouſand perſons of condition behind, innumerable crowds in a long ſilent order, an expreſſion of paſſion more dangerous than that of clamour and confuſion, bringing up the rear. Void of all honour in politics, Shafteſbury coined rumours as they fitted his purpoſe, and had men of his party ready who could repeat, and men who could write them, ſo as to make them circulate through every part of the kingdom*. Void of all feeling, he confirmed his inventions by public trials, and, without remorſe, ſaw priſoners led to death for charges which himſelf had contrived; engaging thus even the paſſions of horror and amazement in the public, to make things credible, which, without theſe, could not have been believed. Succeſs ſeemed to follow in a train. The crown lawyers, the crown judges, moſt of the King's ſervants, believed in the plot as firmly as the meaneſt of the people. The King's chief miniſter Lord Danby had been the firſt to give it credit, in order to preſent an object of proſecution to parliament in place of himſelf. The King's late miniſters, Buckingham, Lauderdale, and

* North's Examen, 88. 100.

Shafteſbury, were joined, in their zeal againſt it, by the popular Lords Eſſex, Halifax, Sunderland, and Ruſſel; and the King, to avoid the imputation of popery, entered into the proſecution of a plot which he knew to be a fiction.

The exclusion of the Duke founded upon the popiſh plot.

Information was no ſooner given of the popiſh plot, than it was converted to the purpoſe of excluding the Duke of York from the throne; and never was a political engine more ably managed. Even before the popiſh plot broke out, the minds of the public had been prepared by a number of pamphlets, which pointed out the right of parliament to change the ſucceſſion of the crown on account of the popery of the perſon in right of it. The firſt of thoſe pamphlets was written by one whom Buckingham, Shafteſbury, and Lord Wharton had employed. The Duke reproached them with the injury: They acknowledged the pamphlet, but excuſed themſelves by ſaying, that the perſon who wrote it had gone beyond his inſtructions. The terrors of the plot had made all the people in the town and the country provide themſelves with arms*; and now, to preſerve theſe arms by authority of law in the ſame hands, the popular party got a bill paſſed through both houſes, which was contrived to weaken the King's power over the militia. To prevent the interpoſition of the army, the commons petitioned the King to diſband it; and ſupplied him with money for that purpoſe. To ſecure a ſuperiority of numbers in the houſe of Lords, they procured the royal aſſent to a bill which excluded papiſts from ſitting there. In order to flatter the ambition of the different parties who had views to the ſucceſſion, and by that art to gain their concurrence in the promotion of

Preparations for it.

* Letter Duke of Newcaſtle to Secretary Jenkins, in the Paper-office, June 8, 1683, and many other letters there.

the

the exclusion, it was resolved in the project of the bill to leave the name of the successor indeterminate *. And, as the first step to connect the popish plot with the exclusion, Lord Russel moved for a resolution of the House, "That the opinion which the papists have of the Duke's "religion is the cause of the plot."

Pretensions of the Duke of Monmouth set up.

In the mean time, a new figure started up to encrease the national ferment, and to add the miseries of a father to those of a brother, in the mind of the King. His natural son, the Duke of Monmouth, young, beautiful, brave, generous, affecting popularity, and tenderly beloved by his father, had been educated with one part of the flower of the English youth at Oxford, and served with another in the army; so that he had all the advantages of private friendships joined to those which attend upon royal extraction. His tutor, one Ross, a Scotchman, either from love to his pupil, or to gain importance to himself, was the first person who inflamed his mind with high ambition, by making him believe, or persuading him to make others believe, that the King had been privately married to his mother. Ross went further; for he advised Cosins, bishop of Durham, to write a certificate of the marriage, and to deposit it in a strong box in his own house; making use of this argument, that, if the Duke of York should be converted from popery, there would be no need of bringing the certificate to public view, and, if he should not, that all arts were justifiable to exclude a papist from the throne: Circumstances which Cosins immediately communicated to the King, but which that Prince disregarded, acquitting Monmouth, and imputing them only to the petulance of his tutor. Yet Ross, after Cosins died, spread a report abroad, that he had left such a certificate behind

* Passages from Lord North's memoirs in North's Examen, p. 390.

him.

him. Upon the death of the Duke of Albemarle, the King had abolished the office of Lord General of the army, deeming it too great for a subject. But, in the year 1674, at a time when it was apprehended the discontents of the nation might break forth into violence, the Duke of Monmouth, using the pretence, that the officers of the army scrupled to fire upon rioters, without the order of the General for their warrant, prevailed upon the King to revive the office, and bestow it upon him. Monmouth gave directions, that, in the form of his commission, he should be called *the King's son*, but that the usual addition to his name of the word *natural* should be omitted. The Duke of York, who had in vain opposed the preferment itself, having received information of this, sent orders to the officer who was to draw the commission, to do it in the usual form. The officer obeyed, and delivered the commission to Vernon, the Duke of Monmouth's secretary. But Vernon, by his master's order, erased the word *natural*. The Duke of York contrived to be with the King when the commission was presented, and complained of the alteration. The King, without making any answer, clipped the commission through the middle with a pair of scissars, and desired a new one might be brought him. This was the first instance of competition between the two Dukes, and of the towering schemes which Monmouth fostered in secret. After this, the Duchess of Portsmouth and Lord Danby buoyed Monmouth up in the favour of Charles, in order to counterbalance the influence of the Duke of York, which they found inconsistent with their own. The animosity between the uncle and the nephew was augmented by a suspicion which the Duke of York had expressed, that Monmouth was son to Robert Sidney, brother to the famous Henry and Algernon Sidneys, the most beautiful man of the age,

age, who had been in uſe to boaſt of his favours from Monmouth's mother, and whom the Duke imagined Monmouth reſembled in his beauty. When the bill for excluding papiſts from parliament was brought into the Houſe of Lords, the Duke of York had, with tears in his eyes, beſeeched to be excepted, and was ſaved only by two voices: But the Duke of Monmouth went out of the Houſe during the vote. He now declared himſelf openly for the excluſion. And his partiſans, aſſerting his legitimacy, maintained every where that he was next heir to the crown.

Fall of Lord Danby, and diſſolution of parliament.

In the midſt of ſo much combuſtible matter the train laid by Montagu and Barillon againſt Lord Danby and his maſter, was ſet on fire. For, Danby having either got intelligence of what was going on underhand againſt him, or fearing Montagu, becauſe conſcious how much he was in his power, procured an order from the King to ſeize his papers upon an affected charge of his correſponding with the Pope's nuncio. But Montagu had ſecreted the fatal letters. He told in a full Houſe of Commons where they were to be found. Some members were inſtantly ſent to the place, and brought them. The King's diſgrace and his miniſter's crime were read aloud to a numerous and inflamed aſſembly; inflamed ſtill more by the diſcovery of Coleman's correſpondence, which ſhowed that the Duke had been carrying on a correſpondence with France againſt the religion of his country and its intereſts. Danby was thrown from the ſummit of power, and almoſt in the ſame inſtant of time, by an impeachment, into the ſolitude of a priſon.

It is common for men who love the treaſon to hate the traitor. The French court, which Montagu had ſo effectually ſerved, paid him * with only 50,000 of the

* Vid. appendix to the next chapter.

100,000

100,000 crowns they had promiſed him, under the pretence that Danby's ruin was not completed, becauſe he was not condemned. Montagu was obliged to make repeated applications even for the half which he got: A mortification perhaps greater, than that of the refuſals which he met with*.

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The exile of the Duke was the conſequence of the fall of Lord Danby, and of the diſſolution of the parliament. Before the new one met, Charles urged his brother, and ſent ſome of the biſhops to urge him, to conform to the church of England; but in vain. He then privately prevailed with Lady Powis, to intreat the Duke, in name of her huſband, and of four other popiſh Lords, who had been committed to the Tower on account of the popiſh plot, to go abroad, in order to take the rage of the public off the four Lords: But the Duke refuſed to yield to her requeſt. The King, at laſt, ordered him to go; and he obeyed with reluctance. He aſked leave to take his daughter, the Princeſs Anne, with him; but was refuſed. He deſired a declaration from his brother, that he had never been married to Monmouth's mother: It was granted. The Duke's exile was owing partly to the advice of Danby, who urged, that his removal would remove the imputation of the King's being governed by popiſh councils, but more to the perſuaſions of the Ducheſs of Portſmouth, whom Shafteſbury flattered with the hopes of a parliamentary ſettlement of the crown upon her ſon the Duke of Richmond.

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APPENDIX

TO

CHAPTER III. OF THE REVIEW.

N° I.

Letters from Barillon to the French court, concerning the differences which the marriage of the Princeſs of Orange created between Louis and Charles, and the intrigues of Barillon with the popular party in parliament.

THE marriage of the Duke of York's daughter to the Prince of Orange, directed by King Charles againſt the will of her father, and without any previous intimation of the intention to France, was the operation, in a manner, of a minute. The ſurpriſe of France upon it, and the views of Charles in it, are related in the following diſpatch, written a few days before the marriage:

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 1ſt Nov. 1677.—His ſurpriſe at the Prince of Orange's marriage.—Charles's reaſons for it.

SIRE,

"I HAVE been informed, from ſeveral quarters, within theſe two days, that the Prince of Orange's marriage with the Princeſs Mary is in treaty, and even far advanced. This obliged me to ſpeak of it to the Duke

Duke of York, whom I found very different from what he had appeared upon this affair, having formerly poſitively told me that he would not think of it till after the concluſion of the peace; but the day before yeſterday he ſpoke to me leſs clearly, and ſaid the King his brother was very much bent upon it, and that he adviſed me to ſpeak to him upon the ſubject (till now he would never permit me). I ſaid all to him, I thought proper, to diſſuade him from precipitating an affair of this nature. I ſaw plainly, by what he ſaid to me, that it was far advanced; and I went to the Ducheſs of Portſmouth's with a deſign to ſpeak to the King of England of it, but he would not give me time, for as ſoon as I got there he took me into a cloſet, and ſaid, I wiſh to talk to you of an affair which is going on here, that you may give an account of it to the King your maſter: It is the marriage of the Prince of Orange with my niece the Princeſs Mary. I judge it very neceſſary for my intereſts, and I believe I ſhall draw conſiderable advantages from it now, and greater hereafter. This alliance will quiet the ſuſpicions which my ſubjects have, that the alliance I preſerve with France, hath no other foundation than a change of religion. It is my brother, the Duke of York's conduct, that has given riſe to all theſe ſuſpicions. All the jealouſy and paſſion which people have in this country againſt the proſperities of France, comes from the Duke's declaring his religion. In the firſt war of 1667, they looked here upon all the conqueſts that were made in Flanders with indifference, and cared little about them; but ſince the Duke of York profeſſed the Catholic religion, all England has been in motion, and apprehenſive that I have other deſigns, and am taking meaſures for changing the government and religion of my country. This is the rock againſt which I muſt guard myſelf, and I aſſure you that I need every thing to

enable me to reſiſt the continual efforts of the whole Engliſh nation; for, in fine, I am the only one of my party, except it be my brother. I am aſſured that the Prince of Orange's marriage with my niece will diſſipate a part of theſe ſuſpicions, and infinitely ſerve to ſhew that I have no deſign which is not conformable to the eſtabliſhed laws and religion of England. It will deſtroy the cabals that might be made, and put my nephew in my intereſt. I confound thereby the hopes of thoſe who only ſeek a pretence to riſe againſt me, and who would endeavour to get the Prince of Orange on their ſide, by making him entertain pretenſions, which now he will reſt on no other foundation than my friendſhip, and a true attachment to my intereſts."

The marriage was immediately followed by the embaſſy of Lord Duras concerted with the Prince, which threatened France with war if ſhe did not accept of peace on the terms which Lord Duras carried, and by a demand upon the French court to ſend back the Britiſh troops in the French ſervice.

Yet even in theſe meaſures Charles endeavoured to keep terms with France: He iſſued a proclamation for proroguing the parliament to April, 1678, as by his late ſecret treaty with Louis he had promiſed to do: He made an apology in private to Barillon for Duras's embaſſy, as appears by Barillon's letter to his court of 16 December, 1677, in the Depot. He permitted Lord Duras to treat, inſtead of perſiſting in the original order for him to return in two days if his meſſage was not complied with. He iſſued no proclamation to recall the Britiſh troops. And Barillon writes on the 3d of February, 1677-8, that

that Charles told him he would not recall thoſe troops in a haſte, and that he intended no war.

Louis the XIVth, however, ſaw the conſequences of the Prince of Orange's marriage. He ſtopped the penſion provided for Charles by the late treaty, pretending to indemnify him, by offering him certain towns in Flanders if he would not interfere in the war, gave a flat refuſal to the terms of peace brought by Lord Duras, and prepared to ſend his troops into Flanders.

Barillon, 27th December, 1677, writes thus to Louis the XIVth;—"I ſhall make uſe of the advantageous offers to ſoften the refuſal of continuing the payment of the ſubſidies. I am afraid this will not make reparation for the anger which ſuch a declaration will produce." And on the 30th December, 1677, he writes:—"I have made general offers of the King of England's getting ſome places in Flanders, if peace is not made."

This ſtop in the ſubſidy explains the cauſe of an extraordinary meaſure taken by Charles, when at this time he revoked the proclamation which had put off the meeting of parliament till April, 1678, and he now ordered it to meet immediately. It explains too the cauſe of the offenſive and defenſive treaty which at this time he haſtily made up with the Dutch.

The Duke of York ſaw the fatal conſequence to himſelf in theſe approaches to a rupture between Charles and Louis,

Barillon writes on the 24th January, 1678, that the Duke of York adjured him with tears in his eyes, to prevail on Louis to ſtop the march of his troops into Flanders,

France aimed yet a more important blow againſt Charles for having brought about the Prince of Orange's marriage. For ſhe entered into the moſt dangerous intrigues with the popular party in parliament againſt him.

As the intrigues of France in an Engliſh parliament are very new matter in the hiſtory of Engliſh party, I ſhall relate the progreſs of them in the order of time as I found it in the Depot at Verſailles.

It has been mentioned in the laſt chapter, that whilſt Louis was in friendſhip with Charles in the year 1677, he furniſhed him with money to bribe his own ſubjects in parliament. In the diſpatches of that year, there are alſo traces of Monſieur Courtin's own connexions (independent of the King's) with ſome members of parliament, to attach them to the intereſts of Charles and France; and on the 15th July, 1677, there are in one of Courtin's accounts preſents ſtated as given by him to perſons in England, the particulars of which ſhall be given in the next chapter.

Upon the marriage of the Prince of Orange, and the ſide which Charles immediately after ſeemed to take againſt France, the court of France and a great part of the popular party in parliament in England came to have the ſame political objects. It was the intereſt of Louis to prevent an union between Charles and the Prince of Orange, to get 20,000 Engliſh troops diſbanded which had been raiſed againſt him to the aſtoniſhment of Europe in the ſhort ſpace of ſix weeks, to have a parliament diſſolved which had repeatedly addreſſed Charles for a war againſt him, and to overturn a miniſter who had of late continually urged his maſter to the ſame war.

For

For this laſt *vide* Lord Danby's letters. The popular party again dreaded, in the ſtrength which that union and that army would confer upon their Sovereign, the loſs of their own liberties; they hoped in a new parliament, choſen in a popular ferment, to gain new ſtrength to themſelves; and they wiſhed to pull down Lord Danby for the ſame reaſon for which every oppoſition wiſhes to pull down every miniſter.

Theſe circumſtances of accident led the way to a connection between the popular and the French intereſts.

On the 13th November, 1677, Barillon, who had been ſent ambaſſador to England only two months before, writes to his own court, that ſome of the members of parliament in oppoſition to the court ſeemed deſirous of forming connections with France, and were making advances to him, but that he ſtands off till he ſhould ſee what ſteps Charles would take with regard to France. He adds, "I have not hitherto given ſo little encouragement to what has been ſaid to me on the part of the cabals in oppoſition to the court, as to put it out of my power to enter into meaſures with them whenever I pleaſe.—I will not give his Britannic Majeſty ſubject to complain, that thoſe who have the honour to ſerve your Majeſty obſerved the ſame conduct with regard to him which the miniſters of the allies have done."

On the 24th January, 1677-8, he writes, that the advances had been renewed to him, that he was inclined to form a connection between France and the popular party, but that he could not do it without orders. He ſays, that the uſe which Charles's oppoſers in parliament are to make of his recalling the Britiſh troops from France, is to impute it to a deſign of arming theſe troops to deſtroy the liberties of England.

Theſe letters probably ſuggeſted to the court of France the idea of ſending over Monſ. Rouvigny, who having been

been longer in England than Barillon had been, could know perſons better than him, with a great ſum of money to be diſtributed among the popular party in the Engliſh parliament.

In Lord Danby's letters (which are publiſhed) there are ſeveral letters in the beginning of the year 1677-8, from Mr. Montague, ambaſſador at Paris, to Lord Danby, informing him, that Rouvigny was to go over with money upon that errand, and to act in concert with Lord Ruſſel; and that Barillon was intriguing with the Duke of Buckingham and others of the popular party in England.

The truth of this information is confirmed by the following memorial of Barillon. An Engliſh reader will perhaps ſtart at a paper being offered to his eyes, which lays open an intrigue between the virtuous Lord Ruſſel and the court of France; yet it will give him ſome relief to find amidſt the imprudence of ſuch an intrigue the man of honour appearing.

Tranſlation.

Barillon's memorial of the 14th March, 1678.—Rouvigny's intercourſe with Lord Ruſſel and Lord Hollis.—Honour of the former.—In the Depot.

"MR. de Rouvigny has ſeen Lord Ruſſel and Lord Hollis, who were fully ſatisfied with the aſſurance he gave them, that the King (i. e. of France) is convinced it is not his intereſt to make the King of England abſolute maſter in his kingdom; and that his Majeſty (i. e. of France) would contribute his endeavours to bring about the diſſolution of this parliament, as ſoon as the time ſhould appear favourable. Lord Ruſſel told him he would engage Lord Shafteſbury in this affair, and that

he ſhould be the only man to whom he would ſpeak of it explicitly; and that they would work underhand to hinder an augmentation of the ſum which has been offered for carrying on the war; and would cauſe to be added to the offer of the million ſterling, ſuch diſagreeable conditions to the King of England, as they hoped would rather make him wiſh to re-unite himſelf with France than to conſent to them. He gave Mr. de Rouvigny to underſtand, that he ſuſpected your Majeſty approved of the King of England's declaring war againſt you, only to give him an opportunity of obtaining money, and under a promiſe that, as ſoon as he had got the money, he would conclude a peace. Mr. de Rouvigny told him, that to ſhew him clearly the contrary, I was ready to diſtribute a conſiderable ſum in the parliament to prevail with it to refuſe any money for the war, and ſolicited him to name the perſons who might be gained. Lord Ruſſel replied, that he ſhould be very ſorry to have any commerce with perſons capable of being gained by money; but he appeared pleaſed to ſee by this propoſal that there is no private underſtanding between your Majeſty and the King of England, to hurt their conſtitution: He told Mr. de Rouvigny, that he and all his friends wanted nothing further than the diſſolution of parliament; that they knew it could only come from the help of France; that ſince he aſſured them it was the deſign of your Majeſty to aſſiſt in it, they would truſt him, and would do all in their power to oblige the King of England to aſk your friendſhip once more, and by this means put your Majeſty in a ſtate to contribute to their ſatisfaction: This he aſſured him would be Lord Shafteſbury's ſentiments, who was one of theſe days to ſee Mr. de Rouvigny at Lord Ruſſel's. Lord Hollis appeared more reſerved than Lord Ruſſel; he appears, like him, to be very glad of your Majeſty's good inten-

age, who had been in uſe to boaſt of his favours from Monmouth's mother, and whom the Duke imagined Monmouth reſembled in his beauty. When the bill for excluding papiſts from parliament was brought into the Houſe of Lords, the Duke of York had, with tears in his eyes, beſeeched to be excepted, and was ſaved only by two voices: But the Duke of Monmouth went out of the Houſe during the vote. He now declared himſelf openly for the excluſion. And his partiſans, aſſerting his legitimacy, maintained every where that he was next heir to the crown.

Fall of Lord Danby, and diſſolution of parliament.

In the midſt of ſo much combuſtible matter the train laid by Montagu and Barillon againſt Lord Danby and his maſter, was ſet on fire. For, Danby having either got intelligence of what was going on underhand againſt him, or fearing Montagu, becauſe conſcious how much he was in his power, procured an order from the King to ſeize his papers upon an affected charge of his correſponding with the Pope's nuncio. But Montagu had ſecreted the fatal letters. He told in a full Houſe of Commons where they were to be found. Some members were inſtantly ſent to the place, and brought them. The King's diſgrace and his miniſter's crime were read aloud to a numerous and inflamed aſſembly; inflamed ſtill more by the diſcovery of Coleman's correſpondence, which ſhowed that the Duke had been carrying on a correſpondence with France againſt the religion of his country and its intereſts. Danby was thrown from the ſummit of power, and almoſt in the ſame inſtant of time, by an impeachment, into the ſolitude of a priſon.

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SIRE,

"I HAVE been informed, from ſeveral quarters, within theſe two days, that the Prince of Orange's marriage with the Princeſs Mary is in treaty, and even far advanced. This obliged me to ſpeak of it to the Duke

Duke of York, whom I found very different from what he had appeared upon this affair, having formerly poſitively told me that he would not think of it till after the concluſion of the peace; but the day before yeſterday he ſpoke to me leſs clearly, and ſaid the King his brother was very much bent upon it, and that he adviſed me to ſpeak to him upon the ſubject (till now he would never permit me). I ſaid all to him, I thought proper, to diſſuade him from precipitating an affair of this nature. I ſaw plainly, by what he ſaid to me, that it was far advanced; and I went to the Ducheſs of Portſmouth's with a deſign to ſpeak to the King of England of it, but he would not give me time, for as ſoon as I got there he took me into a cloſet, and ſaid, I wiſh to talk to you of an affair which is going on here, that you may give an account of it to the King your maſter: It is the marriage of the Prince of Orange with my niece the Princeſs Mary. I judge it very neceſſary for my intereſts, and I believe I ſhall draw conſiderable advantages from it now, and greater hereafter. This alliance will quiet the ſuſpicions which my ſubjects have, that the alliance I preſerve with France, hath no other foundation than a change of religion. It is my brother, the Duke of York's conduct, that has given riſe to all theſe ſuſpicions. All the jealouſy and paſſion which people have in this country againſt the proſperities of France, comes from the Duke's declaring his religion. In the firſt war of 1667, they looked here upon all the conqueſts that were made in Flanders with indifference, and cared little about them; but ſince the Duke of York profeſſed the Catholic religion, all England has been in motion, and apprehenſive that I have other deſigns, and am taking meaſures for changing the government and religion of my country. This is the rock againſt which I muſt guard myſelf, and I aſſure you that I need every thing to

enable me to reſiſt the continual efforts of the whole Engliſh nation; for, in fine, I am the only one of my party, except it be my brother. I am aſſured that the Prince of Orange's marriage with my niece will diſſipate a part of theſe ſuſpicions, and infinitely ſerve to ſhew that I have no deſign which is not conformable to the eſtabliſhed laws and religion of England. It will deſtroy the cabals that might be made, and put my nephew in my intereſt. I confound thereby the hopes of thoſe who only ſeek a pretence to riſe againſt me, and who would endeavour to get the Prince of Orange on their ſide, by making him entertain pretenſions, which now he will reſt on no other foundation than my friendſhip, and a true attachment to my intereſts."

The marriage was immediately followed by the embaſſy of Lord Duras concerted with the Prince, which threatened France with war if ſhe did not accept of peace on the terms which Lord Duras carried, and by a demand upon the French court to ſend back the Britiſh troops in the French ſervice.

Yet even in theſe meaſures Charles endeavoured to keep terms with France; He iſſued a proclamation for proroguing the parliament to April, 1678, as by his late ſecret treaty with Louis he had promiſed to do: He made an apology in private to Barillon for Duras's embaſſy, as appears by Barillon's letter to his court of 16 December, 1677, in the Depot. He permitted Lord Duras to treat, inſtead of perſiſting in the original order for him to return in two days if his meſſage was not complied with. He iſſued no proclamation to recall the Britiſh troops. And Barillon writes on the 3d of February, 1677-8, that

that Charles told him he would not recall thoſe troops in a haſte, and that he intended no war.

Louis the XIVth, however, ſaw the conſequences of the Prince of Orange's marriage. He ſtopped the penſion provided for Charles by the late treaty, pretending to indemnify him, by offering him certain towns in Flanders if he would not interfere in the war, gave a flat refuſal to the terms of peace brought by Lord Duras, and prepared to ſend his troops into Flanders.

Barillon, 27th December, 1677, writes thus to Louis the XIVth;—"I ſhall make uſe of the advantageous offers to ſoften the refuſal of continuing the payment of the ſubſidies. I am afraid this will not make reparation for the anger which ſuch a declaration will produce." And on the 30th December, 1677, he writes:—"I have made general offers of the King of England's getting ſome places in Flanders, if peace is not made."

This ſtop in the ſubſidy explains the cauſe of an extraordinary meaſure taken by Charles, when at this time he revoked the proclamation which had put off the meeting of parliament till April, 1678, and he now ordered it to meet immediately. It explains too the cauſe of the offenſive and defenſive treaty which at this time he haſtily made up with the Dutch.

The Duke of York ſaw the fatal conſequence to himſelf in theſe approaches to a rupture between Charles and Louis,

Barillon writes on the 24th January, 1678, that the Duke of York adjured him with tears in his eyes, to prevail on Louis to ſtop the march of his troops into Flanders,

France aimed yet a more important blow againſt Charles for having brought about the Prince of Orange's marriage. For ſhe entered into the moſt dangerous intrigues with the popular party in parliament againſt him.

As the intrigues of France in an Engliſh parliament are very new matter in the hiſtory of Engliſh party, I ſhall relate the progreſs of them in the order of time as I found it in the Depot at Verſailles.

It has been mentioned in the laſt chapter, that whilſt Louis was in friendſhip with Charles in the year 1677, he furniſhed him with money to bribe his own ſubjects in parliament. In the diſpatches of that year, there are alſo traces of Monſieur Courtin's own connexions (independent of the King's) with ſome members of parliament, to attach them to the intereſts of Charles and France; and on the 15th July, 1677, there are in one of Courtin's accounts preſents ſtated as given by him to perſons in England, the particulars of which ſhall be given in the next chapter.

Upon the marriage of the Prince of Orange, and the ſide which Charles immediately after ſeemed to take againſt France, the court of France and a great part of the popular party in parliament in England came to have the ſame political objects. It was the intereſt of Louis to prevent an union between Charles and the Prince of Orange, to get 20,000 Engliſh troops diſbanded which had been raiſed againſt him to the aſtoniſhment of Europe in the ſhort ſpace of ſix weeks, to have a parliament diſſolved which had repeatedly addreſſed Charles for a war againſt him, and to overturn a miniſter who had of late continually urged his maſter to the ſame war.

For

For this laſt *vide* Lord Danby's letters. The popular party again dreaded, in the ſtrength which that union and that army would confer upon their Sovereign, the loſs of their own liberties; they hoped in a new parliament, choſen in a popular ferment, to gain new ſtrength to themſelves; and they wiſhed to pull down Lord Danby for the ſame reaſon for which every oppoſition wiſhes to pull down every miniſter.

Theſe circumſtances of accident led the way to a connection between the popular and the French intereſts.

On the 13th November, 1677, Barillon, who had been ſent ambaſſador to England only two months before, writes to his own court, that ſome of the members of parliament in oppoſition to the court ſeemed deſirous of forming connections with France, and were making advances to him, but that he ſtands off till he ſhould ſee what ſteps Charles would take with regard to France. He adds, "I have not hitherto given ſo little encouragement to what has been ſaid to me on the part of the cabals in oppoſition to the court, as to put it out of my power to enter into meaſures with them whenever I pleaſe.—I will not give his Britannic Majeſty ſubject to complain, that thoſe who have the honour to ſerve your Majeſty obſerved the ſame conduct with regard to him which the miniſters of the allies have done."

On the 24th January, 1677-8, he writes, that the advances had been renewed to him, that he was inclined to form a connection between France and the popular party, but that he could not do it without orders. He ſays, that the uſe which Charles's oppoſers in parliament are to make of his recalling the Britiſh troops from France, is to impute it to a deſign of arming theſe troops to deſtroy the liberties of England.

Theſe letters probably ſuggeſted to the court of France the idea of ſending over Monſ. Rouvigny, who having been

been longer in England than Barillon had been, could know perſons better than him, with a great ſum of money to be diſtributed among the popular party in the Engliſh parliament.

In Lord Danby's letters (which are publiſhed) there are ſeveral letters in the beginning of the year 1677-8, from Mr. Montague, ambaſſador at Paris, to Lord Danby, informing him, that Rouvigny was to go over with money upon that errand, and to act in concert with Lord Ruſſel; and that Barillon was intriguing with the Duke of Buckingham and others of the popular party in England.

The truth of this information is confirmed by the following memorial of Barillon. An Engliſh reader will perhaps ſtart at a paper being offered to his eyes, which lays open an intrigue between the virtuous Lord Ruſſel and the court of France; yet it will give him ſome relief to find amidſt the imprudence of ſuch an intrigue the man of honour appearing.

Tranſlation.

Barillon's memorial of the 14th March, 1678.—Rouvigny's intercourſe with Lord Ruſſel and Lord Hollis.—Honour of the former.—In the Depot.

"MR. de Rouvigny has ſeen Lord Ruſſel and Lord Hollis, who were fully ſatisfied with the aſſurance he gave them, that the King (i. e. of France) is convinced it is not his intereſt to make the King of England abſolute maſter in his kingdom; and that his Majeſty (i. e. of France) would contribute his endeavours to bring about the diſſolution of this parliament, as ſoon as the time ſhould appear favourable. Lord Ruſſel told him he would engage Lord Shafteſbury in this affair, and that

he ſhould be the only man to whom he would ſpeak of it explicitly; and that they would work underhand to hinder an augmentation of the ſum which has been offered for carrying on the war; and would cauſe to be added to the offer of the million ſterling, ſuch diſagreeable conditions to the King of England, as they hoped would rather make him wiſh to re-unite himſelf with France than to conſent to them. He gave Mr. de Rouvigny to underſtand, that he ſuſpected your Majeſty approved of the King of England's declaring war againſt you, only to give him an opportunity of obtaining money, and under a promiſe that, as ſoon as he had got the money, he would conclude a peace. Mr. de Rouvigny told him, that to ſhew him clearly the contrary, I was ready to diſtribute a conſiderable ſum in the parliament to prevail with it to refuſe any money for the war, and ſolicited him to name the perſons who might be gained. Lord Ruſſel replied, that he ſhould be very ſorry to have any commerce with perſons capable of being gained by money; but he appeared pleaſed to ſee by this propoſal that there is no private underſtanding between your Majeſty and the King of England, to hurt their conſtitution: He told Mr. de Rouvigny, that he and all his friends wanted nothing further than the diſſolution of parliament; that they knew it could only come from the help of France; that ſince he aſſured them it was the deſign of your Majeſty to aſſiſt in it, they would truſt him, and would do all in their power to oblige the King of England to aſk your friendſhip once more, and by this means put your Majeſty in a ſtate to contribute to their ſatisfaction: This he aſſured him would be Lord Shafteſbury's ſentiments, who was one of theſe days to ſee Mr. de Rouvigny at Lord Ruſſel's. Lord Hollis appeared more reſerved than Lord Ruſſel; he appears, like him, to be very glad of your Majeſty's good inten-

tions, but he thinks the peace is ſo difficult to be made, that he is afraid it will be a long time before your Majeſty can be in a condition to give them ſatisfaction by getting the parliament diſſolved. Mr. de Rouvigny found him ſo embittered againſt the court and the miniſtry, that he did not dare to ſay any thing to him of the deſire which the King of England ſhews for peace, leſt he ſhould bring his cabal, from his deſire to oppoſe all the deſigns of the court, to be partizans for the war. And he believes that he only ſtarted difficulties about the peace, to engage him to tell what the King of England had ſaid upon that head. Lord Hollis does not believe they are going to accuſe the high treaſurer in the Houſe of Commons; but Lord Ruſſel told Mr. de Rouvigny that he had taken the reſolution to ſupport the affair againſt the treaſurer, and even attack the Duke of York and all the Catholics. The Houſe of Lords will in all likelihood oppoſe the Houſe of Commons in this, becauſe the Lords pretend that no one can be excluded from the upper Houſe, without being tried in form. The deſign of getting the parliament diſſolved cannot be kept too ſecret, becauſe, though it be a thing wiſhed by all England, yet if thoſe who are at preſent the members knew that it was thought of, they would do all the King of England could wiſh to hinder the execution of the deſign."

About this time a bill had been framed for giving the King a million for carrying on the war againſt France. It was impoſſible for the popular party to oppoſe this bill without betraying their connections with France. But they endeavoured to diſappoint it, by introducing many clauſes into it which marked an unuſual jealouſy in par-

liament of the crown. But all theſe Charles ſubmitted to. The following letter from Barillon gives an account of what paſſed between Rouvigny, Lord Ruſſel, and Lord Hollis, upon occaſion of this bill.

Tranſlation.

Extract of Mr. Barillon's letter to Louis the XIVth, of the 24th March, 1678.—Further intercourſe of Rouvigny with Lord Ruſſel and Lord Hollis.—Their views.—In the Depot.

"I HAVE ſeen the perſons with whom I have commerce, and Mr. de Rouvigny has ſeen Lord Hollis and Lord Ruſſel. Both theſe and thoſe ſpeak the ſame language, and ſay they never pretended to oppoſe openly the giving money to the King of England; that this would be a means of drawing upon themſelves the hatred of the people, and the reproach of all that might hereafter happen; that the lower Houſe had added to this act clauſes ſo contrary to the privileges and authority of his Britannic Majeſty, that they had hoped neither the Prince nor his miniſters would have conſented to them, or at leaſt that they would have permitted difficulties to be thrown in the way; but that the avidity for money, and the deſire of having troops on foot, which they thought they might diſpoſe of, had made the miniſters paſs the act without any conſideration for the true intereſts of his Britannic Majeſty; that this redoubles their fears of the deſigns of the court, with which they are much alarmed. Even although they are at this minute perſuaded that your Majeſty and the King of England act in concert, they are ſtill under apprehenſion leſt the war ſhould ſerve only to bring them under ſubjection. They ſee the danger to which they are expoſed, but do not know a remedy to

theſe terms were, that Louis ſhould evacuate a great part of his conqueſts in the Spaniſh Netherlands. But after he had bought off Charles, and made a ſeparate peace with the Dutch, he thought he might treat Spain as he pleaſed, and therefore refuſed to evacuate his conqueſts until ſatisfaction ſhould be made to his allies the Swedes. All Europe cried aloud againſt the breach of faith. Spain and Holland linked themſelves together more cloſely than ever, and called upon England for help.

The opportunity appeared to Charles to be fair for playing that double game in which he took delight, and to enhance the price of his friendſhip to France. On the one hand he concluded a treaty by means of Sir William Temple with the Dutch, by which he engaged to join in war againſt France, if ſhe did not, without any regard to the intereſts of Sweden, evacuate the Spaniſh towns within two months; and on the other hand he offered privately a treaty to Louis, by which, in conſideration of a penſion of ſix millions of livres for one year, and four millions for two more, he was to join him in favour of the Swedes, to furniſh a fleet and army for their ſervice paid by France, and to obſerve a neutrality in Flanders; a treaty which Charles wiſhed for the more, becauſe it would have given him a pretence for keeping up an army independent of parliament, and without its conſent: Views which, if they had been known at the time, might, if any thing could, have juſtified the imprudence of his ſubjects in intriguing with France.

But deſpiſing and inſulting the artifices of Charles, Louis betrayed the ſecret to the allies, concluded the terms of peace with the Dutch at Nimeguen, purſued meaſures to bring the Spaniards into them, and ſtopped the penſion which he had engaged to pay Charles by the private

private treaty made with him in the preceding month of May.

Charles upon this, for once in his life, became ſincere, and by promiſes and embaſſies, and by great bodies of troops ſent to Flanders, endeavoured to prevail upon the Dutch to diſown the peace which their ambaſſadors had juſt concluded, and the Spaniards to refuſe their acceſſion to it. The Dutch, willing to engage him in a war with France, and to keep free of it themſelves *, encouraged his ardour, but kept clear of its influence. The Spaniards followed their example, and the general peace of Chriſtendom was eſtabliſhed at Nimeguen. Breach widened between Charles and Louis.

But while Charles was ſpending his anger every where in vain againſt France, ſhe was ſecretly preparing a mine to blow up his miniſter, and expoſe himſelf, by getting one of his own ſervants to lay before parliament one of thoſe ſecret money tranſactions into which ſhe had herſelf drawn him †. Mr. Montague, afterwards Duke of Montague, who had lately been ambaſſador in France, was provoked againſt Lord Danby for having preferred Sir William Temple to him in a competition for the office of ſecretary of ſtate, and made an offer to the French court, that, for a hundred thouſand crowns, he would ruin Lord Danby, by betraying to parliament Danby's correſpondence concerning one of the private money treaties with France. His offer was accepted. In an abſolute monarchy thoſe in power are every thing, and thoſe out of it nothing; but in free governments, ſimple individuals command often the fates of them. A private Engliſh gentleman concerted ſlowly and ſurely, with a foreigner who could not even ſpeak the language of England, the ruin of a great miniſter, Intrigue of the ruin of Lord Danby.

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* Fagel once let this intention drop to Sir William Temple. Vid. Sir William's Memoirs. Compare alſo the paſſage from Lord North's Memoirs in North's Exam. p. 474.

† Vid. Appendix to this Chapter, No. IV.

believe the war is only reſolved on in caſe peace is not made in a few days, and that the King of England will not declare it whilſt there remains the leaſt hopes. The high Treaſurer's aim is to procure money, and he would willingly encreaſe his maſter's authority. The Duke of York believes himſelf loſt as to his religion, if the preſent opportunity does not ſerve to bring England into ſubjection; it is a very bold enterprize, and the ſucceſs very doubtful. I believe they have perſuaded this Prince that a war is more proper to accompliſh his deſign than peace. He thinks that by declaring ſtrongly againſt France, he will diminiſh the animoſity againſt himſelf. This does not appeaſe his enemies; he is more ſuſpected than ever, and not leſs hated; his change with regard to your Majeſty does not add to his reputation; many perſons believe he will return to his former engagements with the ſame lightneſs with which he has quitted them. The King of England ſtill wavers upon carrying things to extremity; his humour is very repugnant to the deſign of changing the government. He is nevertheleſs drawn along by the Duke of York and the high Treaſurer; but at the bottom he would rather chooſe that a peace ſhould leave him in a condition to remain in quiet, and re-eſtabliſh his affairs, that is to ſay, a good revenue; and I do not believe he cares much for being more abſolute than he is. The Duke and the Treaſurer know well with whom they have to deal, and are afraid of being abandoned by the King of England on the firſt conſiderable obſtacles they may meet with to the deſign of enlarging the royal authority in England."

There are in King William's box the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange during this ſtate of uncertainty between France and England.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Mr. Hyde has got powers to finiſh the treaty with the Dutch.—An anſwer from France as to the terms of peace expected.

London, Dec. 24, 1677.

I WOULD not let this bearer Mr. Thinn go without writing to you by him, who his Majeſty ſends with powers and inſtructions to Mr. Hyde, to conclude what you have already approved of. As for Mr. Montague, we had news from him of his being at St. Germains, but then he had not entered upon his buſineſs; we expect every moment to hear from him. I need ſay no more, this bearer being ſo fully inſtructed to inform you of all this.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Impatient for an anſwer from France.

London, Jan. 3, 1677-8.

AT length this bearer, Lord Oſſory, has got leave to go to you, at which he is very well pleaſed, and will loſe no tyme, and ſo goes tomorrow morning, being not willing to ſtay for the expreſs we expect from France, though we look for him every hour, but I keep Cornwal here on purpoſe to ſend you word what the expreſſe will

bring, which will be either peace or war; and now that I have ſayd this, I will not defer letting you know I do eaſily beleve the trouble you had for the loſſe of my ſonne: I wiſh you may never have the like cauſe of trouble, nor know what it is to loſſe a ſonne.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—France having refuſed the terms of peace, war is preparing.

London, Jan. 8, 1677-8.

YOU will now receive an account from this bearer, my Lord Oſſory, of the anſwer his Majeſty has had from France, by the which you will ſee we muſt prepare for a war, which we are doing here, with as little noiſe as we can, till the parliament meets, which you know is to be this day ſennight, and we are haſtening away as faſt as poſſibly we can, the ſhips deſigned to ſtrengthen our ſquadron in the Straights, which I hope may be ready to ſail, wind and weather permitting, in ten days; and when they have joyned Sir J. Narborogh, he will have with him 25 ſaile of men of war and two fire-ſhips, and we muſt encreaſe the number of fire-ſhips, ſo that if you encreaſe likewiſe the ſquadron you are now a ſending thether, we ſhall, I hope, be maſter of that ſea, for all the French are, or may be, ſo ſtrong there; and it will be neceſſary to conſider what force will be neceſſary to be maſters in theſe ſeas, and to be in a condition of giving them trouble upon their ſea coaſts, which is all I ſhall need ſay to you now upon this ſubject: His Majeſty ſaying he will write to you to deſire you to ſend over ſomebody hither, to adjuſt and ſettle the plan of what is to be done at ſea, and what number of ſhips will be neceſſary to be ſett out, and their ſeverall ſtations.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Preparations for war.

London, Jan. 15, 1677-8.

I BELIEVE this will ſtill find you at the Hague, for by the laſt French letter which came yeſterday, I do not find that King was yet upon his march, though all things in a readineſs for it. Some will have it that he was determined to ſee what temper the parliament would be in before he undertook any thing; but I hardly believe he will ſtay for that now, that the parliament was adjourned this day till the 28 of this month; which was done for reaſons which I believe you have been informed of: In the mean time we are preparing all things here for what may happen, and are recruiting all our old companys to one hundred each; and have given out orders for the raiſing of 24 new companys to make Lord Craven's, myne, and Lord Mulgrave's regiments 20 companys apiece,

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—In anſwer to a letter from the Prince, propoſing that the Duke ſhould command the army that is to go over.—Uncertain if troops are to go.

London, Jan. 25, 1677-8.

I HAVE received juſt now yours by Lord Oſſory, and do aſſure you I take very kindly the propoſition you make to me in it, though as yett I can ſay nothing to you upon it, for till we know what the parliament and Spaniards will do, we cannot make any plan how or which way to carry on the war when we enter into it; and you will ſee, by what Mr. Hyde has to informe you of, what

what little probability there is of our having any men in Flanders, ſince, without Oſtend, we cannot ſend a conſiderable body into that country.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, with regard to the preparations for the war.

London, Feb. 2, 1678.

BY the laſt poſt, or at leaſt by this, you will have ſeen his Majeſty's ſpeech to both Houſes, which one would have thought would have given all ſatisfaction, and that the Houſe of Commons would have proceeded accordingly; but you will ſee by their addreſs this day, now that his Majeſty has done all they deſired by their former addreſs, how they chicane and fly off from what they have formerly ſaid, attack the prerogative, and would impoſe upon his Majeſty ſuch things as cannot ſubſiſt with monarchy, and was never before pretended to by a Houſe of Commons. I am ſure it will be very good news for France, and I am confident, ſo ſoon as they hear of it, they will take new meaſures, and attack ſome place in Flanders, which may be, if the Houſe of Commons had gone on vigorouſly in helping his Majeſty with money for the carrying on of the war, they would have hardly done: But I hope that when his Majeſty ſhall have anſwered their addreſs, which he will do on Monday, that they will be aſhamed of what they have done, and will yet make amends, and ſupply his Majeſty as they ought to do, and he will put it home to them. I believe you will be very impatient for the next letters from hence, for by Tueſday's night one ſhall ſee what they will do.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—That party of the Houſe of Commons which preſſes for a war refuſes a ſupply.

London, Feb. 5, 1678.

BY the laſt letters I ſee you were not then come back to the Hague, but were expected there that night or the next day: I believe you will be very impatient to know how affairs go here; you will by this poſt have a copy of his Majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, which was given them yeſterday morning, for all which they go on but very ſlowly, and thoſe who ſeemed to be moſt zealous for a war with France laſt ſeſſions, are thoſe who obſtruct moſt the giving of a ſupply; and it has been all his Majeſty's ſervants in the Houſe have been able to do, to get a vote with great pains and wranglings, and that at ſix o'clock this night, for a ſupply for the maintenance of the alliance with Holland, and the preſervation of Flanders. To-morrow they are to proceed to the ſum it ſhall be, which I am afraid will be much diſputed and leſſened, as much as the ill people can get it; and without a very conſiderable one, we ſhall be able to go on but very lamely with the war. But we muſt do as well as we can, and till this money matter be ſettled, we can make no farther preparations than thoſe we have already.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

London, Feb. 8, 1678.

I WOULD not let this bearer Cornwell go back without writing to you by him. I have kept him here a great while, thinking to have had ſomething of conſequence

ſequence to write by a ſure meſſenger, but I would not keep him any longer. Things here go but ſlowly on; for, though the Houſe of Commons voted yeſterday that they would provide money for ninety ſhips, and to day the ſame for thirty thouſand land men, yett I feare they may be ſo long about raiſing a fonds for the maintenance of them, that we ſhall be able to do little this yeare, for till there be a certainty of the mony, we cannot go in hand with the fitting of more ſhips, or raiſing more men than thoſe we have already, and I am ſure no tyme ſhall be loſt when we can once go to worke.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The King's bad opinion of Buckingham.

London, Feb. 9, 1678.

WHEN I wrote yeſterday to you by Mr. Cornwall I had but little time to ſay any thing to you, nor have I much more now by this bearer Godolphin, whom his Majeſty ſends to you about affairs of great concern, as you will find when he ſpeaks with you; of which it is not neceſſary for me to ſay any thing, but that we ſhall expect your anſwer with great impatience. In the mean time, I believe you will have been ſurprized with the news of the Duke of Buckingham's having leave to come to court; I am ſure I was, for I knew nothing of it till he had been with his Majeſty; but his Majeſty knows him too well to let him do any harme.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Troops are to be ſent to Oſtend and Newport; but the Spaniſh create difficulties.

London, Feb. 13, 1678.

I DID not write to you by the poſt of yeſterday, becauſe I deſigned to write to you by this bearer Lord Oſſory, and then I was willing to ſee what the Marquis de Bourgemaine would ſay; for though he received his letters on Monday morning, he kept it a ſecret to thoſe he ſhould have acquainted with it in the firſt place, till laſt night, that he ſaid ſomething to his Majeſty of it, and this morning he gave in the writing (a copy of which you have ſeen) about Oſtend, but would call it nothing but a paper, and did ſo carry himſelf with thoſe appointed to treat with him, that he gave them little ſatisfaction, and does not advance the work at all, and I do not underſtand his politick when time is ſo precious to them; but it ſhall not be our faults if we do not immediately ſend ſome men both to Newport and Oſtend.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Glad of the million vote of the Houſe of Commons.

London, Feb. 19, 1678.

I RECEIVED yeſterday a letter from you by the poſt, and juſt now one from you by Godolphin, but have not yet had time to ſpeak with him about the buſineſs he went to you on, and ſhall not before the poſt goes, it being now late; but I believe I ſhall ſooner than the next poſt have an opportunity of writing to you; for except M. Van Buning can prevail with the Marquis de Bourgemain to be more reaſonable than he is, his Majeſty will be forced to ſend one over to treat with the

Duke de Villahermoſa about the affair of Oſtend, in which he has yet done nothing, notwithſtanding the orders he has had, though we have preſſed him to it. I have not time to ſay more, nor to give you an account of the good vote paſſed yeſterday in the Houſe of Commons, and only can aſſure you it ſhall not be our faults here if things be not done as you can deſire. We ſhall now go in hand to raiſe the reſt of our men to compleat them to the number deſigned.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Commons delay the ſupply.

London, Feb. 22, 1678.

BY the letters come this day from the Hague, I find you are gone to the army upon the news of the French being come towards Namur. I am ſorry we go ſo ſlowly on in our preparation; it is now near a month that the parliament have ſat, and yet not ſo much as a money bill got ready. I hope this alarum of this ſeige will quicken them, and that M. de Bourgemaine will no longer make any delays, which have proved ſo prejudicial to his maſter's affairs; for ſo ſoon as he will but ſay it, we are ready to ſend our men for Oſtend and Newport; and when once any of the money bills are ſo far advanced as we can get credit upon them, no time ſhall be loſt, and then you ſhall hear farther from me.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of Spain and the Houſe of Commons;—is to go over himſelf with the army.

London, March 3, 1678.

IT was but yeſterday morning that I received your's of the 5th from Mecklin, and I aſſure you was very ſenſibly touched with it, and am as ſenſible as you can deſire

desire I should, of the condition you are in. If the parliament or the Spaniards had done their parts as they should, things had been, I am confident, in a better condition than they are now, but one must think of what is to come. This goes to you by Godolphin, whom his Majesty sends to you to inform you how things are here, and to consult with you what now is to be done. We did not hear till this day of Ghent's being taken; and at the desire of the Marquis de Bourgemaine, his Majesty has ordered the two battalions that are at Ostend of our troops to go to Bruges, and we are sending twelve companies to Ostend; and you may be assured nothing shall be wanting that we can do to support your interest. Commissions are now giving out to raise more men; and as soon as we can get a considerable body together, I intend to go over with them to you; and it will not be long before I send over somebody to you to adjust that affair with you,

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The King refuses to raise foreign troops.—Is to raise more troops at home.—The Duke impatient to go over.

London, March 8, 1678.

SINCE Godolphin went I have received two from you, the first of the 10th from Mecklin, and the other of the 14th from Boom; by the last of which I see you believe the French were gone to besiege Ipres, which proves to be so, we having had letters by the way of Calais of its actually being besieged. I must confess I was glad to heare they were gone thither; for by what one can judge at this distance, I was of opinion they might have taken either Bruxelles or Bruges, for that you could not cover both of them; but I am sorry to find by what you say, that Ipres is as bad a place, for I

was in hopes that place might have held out ſome tyme, and given you ſome breathing time, at leaſt I hope it will give you leiſure to ſecure the other two places I mentioned. As to what you propoſed concerning getting ſome German troops, I ſhewed his Majeſty your letter, who bids me tell you he had no money to ſpare for it, and that had he any, it ſhould be made uſe on to raiſe more troops here. As for thoſe we are raiſing, the commiſſions are but now given out, which would have ſignified nothing to have been done ſooner; for till this day that the poll bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons, no money could be got; and to-morrow or next day the levy money will be given to the ſeveral colonels, who are obliged to have their regiments compleat in ſix weeks tyme: And you may be ſure I ſhall do my part to haſten things all I can, being very deſirous to be with you. I ſee you had already heard of ſome of our troops being landed at Oſtend; we have yet but two battalions there, which ought to be eight hundred each, and we have twelve companies more ready to embarke ſo ſoon as the wind changes, which is all we can ſpare at preſent, till our new levies begin to come in; for we muſt not leave this town with fewer troops in it than there are at preſent.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The army is raiſing faſt.—The Duke is to go over.—The popular party obſtruct the war.

London, March 12, 1678.

THERE are no letters come this day from beyond ſea, ſo that we are very ignorant of what paſſes at Ipres, or any where elſe; in the mean time we are preparing all things here as faſt as we can, to be in a condition

dition of helping you. The commiſſions and levy money are given out, and the officers are gone down into their reſpective countries to raiſe their men, and I make no doubt that their ſeveral regiments will be ſoon compleated and at the rendezvous, which will be for moſt of them about this town, and ſome near Harwich for the convenience of embarking them. They have ſix weeks time given them for the raiſing of their men, but I hope moſt of them will have their men together ſooner; and now within a few days, I intend to ſend one to you to adjuſt all things with you, both as to the place and time of our landing. To-morrow I hope the poll bill will paſs both Houſes, but the Houſe of Commons go on but very ſlowly in their other money bills; however, we muſt do as well as we can, and work through many difficulties which diſaffected, and thoſe of the republican party raiſe every day.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The popular party refuſe money and obſtruct the levies.

London, March 19, 1678.

I SEE by yours of the 22, that you were ſtill at Boom, and that things contipue in as ill a condition where you were, as when I heard laſt from you, and I am ſorry to tell you that things do not mend here at all ſince Godolphin went hence; for though the poll bill be paſt both Houſes, and will have his Majeſty's aſſent to it to-morrow, yet that will prove but an inconſiderable ſume to what we muſt have to maintain ſo many men and ſhips as we have, and are to have in pay; and moſt people believe this bill will produce cleere to his Majeſty not above three hundred thouſand pounds; and for any other money bill, there is none in hand but that for taxing the new buildings, and it is uncertain whether that will paſs

in the Houſe of Commons, there being ſo many of the members concerned in it; and truly the temper of the Houſe ſeems not to be good, and looks as if ſome of them minded more how to get the power from the King than any thing elſe; however, our levies go on very well, though ſome of the ſame perſons do endeavour to obſtruct them; and our horſe, which I thought would have been the longeſt a raiſing, will be the ſoneſt ready, there being ſeverall troups of horſe that have already their full number and well mounted.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Commons will not give money for the war.—The Duke expects war for certain.

London, March 22, 1678.

I Received laſt night yours by Godolphin, who has given me an account of what you had charged him with, and am clearly of your mind, and what you deſire muſt be done, and his Majeſty will have a poſitive anſwer by the end of the Eaſter holidays, till which time I believe the parliament will adjourn ſome tyme the beginning of next week, and I am abſolutely of your opinion, knowing the temper of the French, that we muſt have a war, and I with the Houſe of Commons would do their part, as well as we ſhall do ours for the carrying it on, for the levys go on very faſt, and we are ſetting out more ſhips every day; but they have ſuch groundleſs jealouſies in their heads, that they make no advances in the providing the reſt of the money: However, I intend very ſoon to ſend one over to you to adjuſt all things with you. I believe you will have a more particular account from lord treaſurer of all things, ſo that I ſhall ſay no more, only to aſſure you that you ſhall always find me very kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Appears heartily for the war.

London, April 2, 1678.

THIS bearer, Churchill, whom his Majeſty ſends over to you, to adjuſt all things with you and the Spaniards, concerning our troops, is ſo fully inſtructed in all points that concern it, that, as to that, I ſhall refer myſelf to him, and to what he ſhall ſay to you upon that ſubject; but now that I am writing to you, I muſt ſay ſomething to you which Mr. Hyde has, by this poſt, orders to communicate to, and preſs Mr. Fagel in; it is that we are afraide, by what Mr. Vanbuninge ſayde two days ago to me, that the ſquadron you have now at Cadiz, under the command of Eneſton, might, either upon the newſe of the French having quitted Meſſina, or for want of being payd by the Spaniard, come back for Holland, which, if it ſhould be, would be very prejudicial to us all, for then the French would be abſolute maſters at ſea in the Mediteranian, and not only deſtroy both your trade and ours, but alſo very much trouble and moleſt the Spaniard in all their coaſts and iſlands in that ſea, for our ſquadron, which is there, will not alone be ſtrong enough to deale with the French, for at this time we have but 22 men of war and two fire-ſhips there, and can ſpare no more from hence, but then to make them up 25 men of war and five fire-ſhips. I hope you will conſider this, and the ill conſequences which may in all likelihood happen, ſhould your ſquadron come away, and therefore I hope you will, ſo ſoon as may be, ſend orders to them to ſtay, for you cannot imagin how neceſſary it is for us they ſhould remain there to joyne with our ſquadron, eſpecially now that we are ſo neare declaring of a war, which will now be done upon the leaſt

leaſt encouragement from you, and the States doing their parts.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Expects common meaſures by the Dutch, Spaniards, and the Emperor, for the conduct of the war.

London, April 7th, 1678.

BEFORE this you will have received mine by Churchill, for I hear he went from the Downs on Friday morning, and believe he got that night to Fluſhing. This goes to you by an expreſs which his Majeſty ſends to Churchill, to give him inſtructions to ſpeake to you about the troops which are at Bruges, I mean the Engliſh, which we have no mind to loſe, being above four battalions of our old regiments; and we are apprehenſive here that the firſt thing the French will do will be to beſiege that place, and the rather becauſe our men are in it; and if he ſhould take them priſoners of warr, it would be a very great flaw to us, and I am confident he would willingly venture the loſing a thouſand or two of his men to take our old regiments; ſo that except the Spaniards or you would put more men into it, I fear thoſe we have there will run the hazard of being loſt: I hope you will conſider of this, and either put ſo many men into it, that may hinder the French from attacking it, or let us draw ſome of our men out of it, for I fear, ſhould it once be beſieged, it could not well be relieved. I am ſure I need ſay no more to you of this, ſince I know you will do what is beſt for the common good, and beſides Churchill will ſpeake more at large to you about it. We are very impatient to have the next letters from Holland, hoping, that before the Houſes ſit again, that Mr. Vanbuning may have powers to treat with us here, and the Empreſs and Spaniſh envoys; for you know we can do nothing without you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the delays of the Dutch.—Anxious that the war ſhould go on, that the King may get money.

London, April 16, 1678.

THIS bearer, Godolfin, goes ſo fully inſtructed, and can give you ſo true an account of all things here, that it is not neceſſary for me to ſay much to you in this letter, yet I cannot forbeare ſaying to you, that all honeſt men were both ſurpriſed and troubled at the delay has been made by the States in the matter of the treaty here; you ſee that that was the only cauſe of the adjourning of the parliament yeſterday, but I hope that your going to the Hague will make them take good and vigorous reſolutions for the carrying on of the war, and that Mr. Vanbuning will receive orders accordingly before the Houſes meet againe. It is of the laſt importance to us, and I do not know what may happen if the war does not go on, conſidering the temper of the nation, and the ill condition his Majeſty's affairs muſt be in for want of money.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Princeſs of Orange has miſcarried.—More troops to be ſent over.

London, April 19, 1678.

I WAS very ſorry to find by the letters of this day from Holland, that my daughter has miſcarried; pray let her be carefuller of herſelf another time: I will write to her to the ſame purpoſe. I am alſo ſorry to find by your letter that the Spaniards have ſo few men that they can ſend no more troops into Bruges; but ſince that cannot be, we ſhall ſend immediately two battalions more thither, as you adviſe.

APPENDIX

There is in King William's box the following letter, on the same subject with those of the Duke of York, from Lord Danby to the Prince of Orange, but not published by his Lordship with his other letters.

Lord Danby to the Prince of Orange.—State of the King and Parliament.

London, Feb. 8, 1677-8.

HIS Majesty finds such great discouragements both from the dilatory proceedings of the parliament, and the untoward actings of the Spaniard with him, that your Highnesse will find by Mr. Godolphin, hee is in hopes of little good but by a peace, and I must confesse our appearances promise little good by a war.

Hee thinkes this peace may bee had by giving the King of France some other place for Tournay, and can himselfe thinke only upon Charlemont, as a place the Spaniard may best spare; but I find they would rather have Luxembourg or Ypres, and will not to me owne lesse than both those places in lieu of Tournay, and I believe his Majesty knows no more than myselfe in this matter. Whatever your Highnesse's opinion may bee of the proposition, I do assure you there is no cause from it to feare any alteration in the King from the measures he has taken with your Highnesse, so that when your Highnesse knows the true state of things here, if you shall not approve the having such conditions offered to France, you may bee confident you will heare no more of them, but (as I have formerly writt to your Highnesse) if the King cannot have Ostend for a port where to land his men and lay magazines, you are never to expect any succours of men

from us in Flanders. For my owne part, I know not what either to wiſh or adviſe in this caſe; on the one hand the nation expecting a war from us, and yett on the other move ſo ſlowly towards one, that at beſt we cannot expect to have any conſiderable force in readineſſe before May, and not certain how long that ſhall be ſupported. I pray God you may adviſe the beſt, becauſe I am ſure wee ſhall go along with you in your fortunes, to which no man wiſhes more proſperity than myſelfe, who am your Highneſſe's moſt eternally faithfull ſervant. D.

No. III.

Letters from Monſieur Barillon, to the French court, and Charles II. to Louis XIV. concerning an intended ſecret money treaty with France in the year 1678; *and ſhewing the intrigues by which Charles, who meant to dupe France, was duped by her in the peace of Nimeguen, together with letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange at that period.*

NOtwithſtanding the appearance of hoſtilities between England and France, it appears from Lord Danby's letters (which are publiſhed) that during moſt of this time Charles and Louis were treating of a general peace, the price of which was to be a great ſum of money given by the laſt to the firſt of theſe princes. This, together with the obſtructions to the preparations for the war, created by the popular party in the Houſe of Commons, made it eaſy for Louis to buy off the ſeeming ardour of Charles and the Duke of York for the war.

It appears by Barillon's diſpatches, that a private and ſeparate treaty for this purpoſe was begun in the beginning

of May, 1678, and in a few days concluded. The general outline of it, as intended by France, was, that Charles ſhould ſtand neuter in the war if the allies ſhould refuſe the terms of peace which France had offered at Nimeguen a few weeks before; ſhould not aſſemble his parliament for ſix months; ſhould diſband his army; and ſhould receive ſix millions of livres from France.

Barillon writes to his court, 12 May, 1678, "The King himſelf will ſign the treaty, none of his ſubjects are bold enough to do it."

On the 17th May, 1678, Charles writes the following letter of congratulation to Louis the XIVth, on the proſpect of the treaty.

Tranſlation.

Letter from the King of England to Louis the XIVth, 17th May, 1678.—Congratulates him on the private treaty they are making together.

"SIR, my brother. It is an extreme joy to me to find that the occaſion of renewing that friendſhip which ſeemed likely to be interrupted, preſents itſelf ſo favourably and certainly, and that I have had the happineſs to contribute to the peace of Chriſtendom ſo much as I have done by the articles which the Sieur de Rouvigny carries to you. As you act entirely in this peace for your glory, I receive it alſo as the moſt particular effect that could have been ſhewn me of your good will towards me, ſeeing it lays the foundations of a friendſhip which I hope will laſt as long as it ſhall pleaſe God to let us live. The circumſtances of my affairs have obliged me to finiſh with your ambaſſador in an extraordinary manner, becauſe the ſecret is of the greateſt importance to me and to my affairs; I therefore earneſtly pray that nothing

nothing be ſaid of it, till I let your ambaſſador know that the whole may be public without prejudice to me. I have deſired the Sieur de Rouvigny to ſpeak to you upon all my concerns, for which I depend on your friendſhip, knowing how much and how fully you ought to be aſſured of mine. So, I pray God, Sir, my brother, to keep you in his holy protection. Your good brother,

(Signed) CHARLES."

On the 22d May, Barillon writes, that an embarraſſment had happened in putting the terms of the treaty into writing; for that Charles made a ſcruple of ſigning a treaty which formally obliged him to prorogue his parliament and to diſband his army. To remove this, Barillon propoſed that theſe two articles ſhould not be contained in that part of the treaty which was to be ſigned by Charles; but that there ſhould be a ſeparate article to be ſigned by Barillon alone, whereby it was to be provided that Louis ſhould not pay the ſix millions of livres, until Charles had prorogued his parliament and diſbanded his army.

Upon this plan the treaty was executed on the 27th May, 1678; a copy of which is in the *Depot* at Verſailles, as follows:

Tranſlation.

Treaty with the King of England of the 27th of May, 1678.—Charles is to ſtand neuter if the allies refuſe the terms of peace offered by France; is not to aſſemble his parliament for ſix months; is to diſband his army; and to receive ſix millions of livres from France.—In the Depot.

"THE King of England having lately been required and ſtrongly ſolicited by the States General to employ his good offices with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to

to prevail with him to conſent that the project of peace given at Nimeguen by his ambaſſadors may receive no change during two months, and that the taking of the places which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's arms have occupied ſince the ſaid project in the Low Countries and other parts, or that ſhall be hereafter occupied by them, may not hinder the States General and their allies from accepting of the ſame project within the ſaid time of two months. This requiſition of the ſaid States General, and the reiterated inſtances they have made to his Britannic Majeſty, have engaged him to employ every means in his power with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who, in conſideration of his Britannic Majeſty's offices, and the more to ſhow the ſincere deſire he hath to contribute on his part to every thing that can facilitate the concluſion of a peace, hath conſented, and agreed with his Britannic Majeſty, by the Sieur de Barillon, privy counſellor of ſtate to his ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and his ambaſſador extraordinary to his Britannic Majeſty, authoriſed by a ſufficient power, upon what follows.

Firſt: In caſe the project of peace offered at Nimeguen in the month of April laſt by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ambaſſadors is not accepted in two months from the day of the ſigning the preſent treaty, by the States General, and by Mr. de Villaformoſa, or one of them, his Britannic Majeſty engages to remain in perfect neutrality as long as the preſent war ſhall laſt, and not to aſſiſt, directly or indirectly, either by ſea or by land, with ſhips, men or money, the Spaniards or the States General, or any of their allies, againſt his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and his allies.

Secondly: For the execution of the neutrality to which his Britannic Majeſty obliges himſelf, he promiſes as ſoon as two months are expired, to recall the troops he ſent into Flanders, 3000 men always excepted, which his

his Britannic Majeſty reſerves to be left in garriſon at Oſtend, without contravention to the preſent treaty; which number of 3000 men ſhall not be augmented in any caſe, nor go out of the ſaid town, but only be employed to preſerve the place.

Thirdly: In caſe the States General incline to accept fully the project of peace which has been communicated by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ambaſſadors at Nimeguen, they ſhall be bound, within the term of two months above mentioned, to put into his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's hands a formal inſtrument by which the ſaid States General are to teſtify their agreeing to the ſaid propoſitions of peace, and to declare that whether they be or be not agreed to by all their allies, they will remain in an entire neutrality with regard to France, without giving directly or indirectly any aſſiſtance to its enemies, either by land or ſea, or by ſhips, troops or money, ſo long as the preſent war ſhall laſt; and on default of this inſtrument being furniſhed within the ſaid time by the ſaid States General, they ſhall not be deemed to have accepted the project of peace; and in this caſe his Britannic Majeſty ſhall be bound to all the clauſes and conditions contained in the firſt and ſecond articles aforeſaid.

Fourthly: When the principal conditions of the peace have been agreed on, and accepted by all the parties intereſted, conformable to the project offered by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, they ſhall be ſent back to Nimeguen, there to be reduced, extended, and ſigned in form of a treaty by the ambaſſadors plenipotentiary and miniſters of the ſaid intereſted parties; and alſo then ſhall be adjuſted at Nimeguen the other things of leſs conſequence, and which always follow more important intereſts.

Fifthly: In execution of the peace concerning the places which ſhall have been taken in the Low Countries

or

or elſewhere ſince the offering the project at Nimeguen in the month of April laſt, they ſhall be reſtored on both ſides.

Sixthly: His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, conformable to the requiſition made to him by his Britannic Majeſty, promiſes to give the Prince of Orange the free enjoyment of all his eſtates ſituated in his ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's dominions, and alſo the principality of Orange, after the States General ſhall have accepted the ſaid project of peace.

All that is above has been conſented to and agreed upon between the King of England and the ſaid ambaſſador, and ſigned with his ſaid Britannic Majeſty's hand; and he promiſed and promiſeth to keep and obſerve all that is contained in the preſent treaty without contravention, and obligeth himſelf to furniſh his ratification ſealed with the great ſeal of England, in the ſpace of two months from this day.

In like manner the ſaid Sieur de Barillon, counſellor of ſtate to his ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and ambaſſador to his ſaid Britannic Majeſty, hath ſigned the preſent treaty, and promiſeth in the name of the King his maſter to furniſh the ratification of it ſealed with the great ſeal, in the ſame ſpace of two months. Done at London the 27th May, 1678.

(Signed) CHARLES and an R. Underneath,
BARILLON DAMONCOURT.

Separate Article.

I, THE underwritten Ambaſſador of France, promiſe to his Britannick Majeſty, in the name of the King my maſter, to cauſe to be paid to him the ſum of

ſix

ſix millions of livres tournois; the firſt payment of which ſhall be three millions, and immediately made after the two months expreſſed in the treaty ſigned this day; the other three millions ſhall be paid quarterly and by equal portions, every three months in the year ſucceeding the abovementioned firſt payment, upon expreſs condition that as ſoon as the two months expire, to be computed from this day, his Britannick Majeſty ſhall recall all the troops he has in Flanders, reſerving 3000 men deſtined for Oſtend; and upon condition alſo that all the troops which his Britannick Majeſty has newly raiſed, ſhall be diſbanded immediately after their arrival in his dominions, 3000 always excepted deſtined for Oſtend, and 3000 more which his Britannick Majeſty intends to ſend into Scotland; and alſo upon condition that his Britannick Majeſty ſhall prorogue his parliament for at leaſt four months, to be computed from the expiration of the two months, within which the project delivered at Nimeguen is to be accepted; nor ſhall his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty be held to begin the payment of the three firſt millions, till after his Britannick Majeſty ſhall have prorogued his parliament for four months, recalled his troops from Flanders, and diſbanded thoſe that have been newly raiſed, as is herein before mentioned. Done at London, 27 May, 1678.

(Signed)

BARILLON DAMONCOURT.

There is alſo in the Depot the following diſpatch of Barillon encloſing the treaty, which ſhews how it had been conducted, and the great conſequence of it to France.

leaſt encouragement from you, and the States doing their parts.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Expects common meaſures by the Dutch, Spaniards, and the Emperor, for the conduct of the war.

London, April 7th, 1678.

BEFORE this you will have received mine by Churchill, for I hear he went from the Downs on Friday morning, and believe he got that night to Fluſhing. This goes to you by an expreſs which his Majeſty ſends to Churchill, to give him inſtructions to ſpeake to you about the troops which are at Bruges, I mean the Engliſh, which we have no mind to loſe, being above four battalions of our old regiments; and we are apprehenſive here that the firſt thing the French will do will be to beſiege that place, and the rather becauſe our men are in it; and if he ſhould take them priſoners of warr, it would be a very great flaw to us, and I am confident he would willingly venture the loſing a thouſand or two of his men to take our old regiments; ſo that except the Spaniards or you would put more men into it, I fear thoſe we have there will run the hazard of being loſt: I hope you will conſider of this, and either put ſo many men into it, that may hinder the French from attacking it, or let us draw ſome of our men out of it, for I fear, ſhould it once be beſieged, it could not well be relieved. I am ſure I need ſay no more to you of this, ſince I know you will do what is beſt for the common good, and beſides Churchill will ſpeake more at large to you about it. We are very impatient to have the next letters from Holland, hoping, that before the Houſes ſit again, that Mr. Vanbuning may have powers to treat with us here, and the Empreſs and Spaniſh envoys; for you know we can do nothing without you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the delays of the Dutch.—Anxious that the war ſhould go on, that the King may get money.

London, April 16, 1678.

THIS bearer, Godolfin, goes ſo fully inſtructed, and can give you ſo true an account of all things here, that it is not neceſſary for me to ſay much to you in this letter, yet I cannot forbeare ſaying to you, that all honeſt men were both ſurpriſed and troubled at the delay has been made by the States in the matter of the treaty here; you ſee that that was the only cauſe of the adjourning of the parliament yeſterday, but I hope that your going to the Hague will make them take good and vigorous reſolutions for the carrying on of the war, and that Mr. Vanbuning will receive orders accordingly before the Houſes meet againe. It is of the laſt importance to us, and I do not know what may happen if the war does not go on, conſidering the temper of the nation, and the ill condition his Majeſty's affairs muſt be in for want of money.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Princeſs of Orange has miſcarried.—More troops to be ſent over.

London, April 19, 1678.

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the Duke of Lauderdale; which is ſuch a way of proceeding as will diſcourage all the allies, and make us here not know almoſt what to do, and this is but the forerunner of worſe things; ſo that I do not ſee how the war can be carried on, it being viſible that the chief deſign of the ill people here, is to engage the King in a war, that they may the eaſier ruin him, ſo that I believe we ſhall be forced to a peace. I do not ſay that it is poſitively reſolved on, and therefore thought it very neceſſary to let you know ſo much, that you may take your meaſures accordingly.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Fault of parliament makes peace neceſſary.—His anxiety about the future.

London, May 14, 1678.

I GAVE you an account in my two laſt of the ſtate of affairs as they then were, which are not at all mended ſince; for the addreſs I mentioned in one of mine was brought on Saturday laſt to his Majeſty by the Commons, which ſo offended his Majeſty, that the anſwer he gave then to it was, that it was ſo extravagant an addreſs, that he was not willing ſpeedily to give them the anſwer it deſerved; and when you ſee a copy of it, you will find it did not deſerve a better anſwer; and yeſterday, to ſhow his farther diſpleaſure to the Commons, he prorogued both houſes till the 23d of this month, in hopes by that time to bring them into a better temper, and had they continued ſitting longer now, they would yet have been more troubleſome. You ſee the temper we are in, and I have but a very ill proſpect of affairs, and expect great diſorders here, or at leaſt great difficulties, ſo that it will be all we can do to keep things quiet at home; it is neceſſary for me to ſay this to you, that

that you may not take wrong meaſures. The King will write to you himſelf, ſo that it is not neceſſary for me to ſay more upon that ſubject.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Adviſes him to peace.—Paſt and preſent ſtate of things in England.—His anxiety for the future.

London, May 21, 1678.

I RECEIVED this afternoon your's of the 27th from Honſlardike, by the which I ſee you are reſolved to ſtay thereabouts till you hear whether the French will accept of the ſuſpenſion of arms. I think you do very well in it, for beſides there is but little good to be done or hoped for in Flanders; I look upon your preſence at the Hague to be very neceſſary, eſpecially when the anſwer comes from the French by the deputies you have ſent to them; for by what I hear from all hands, and even by what you ſaid to Mr. Hyde, that the generality of the people, as well as ſome of the chief men amongſt the States, are very much for a peace, or elſe thoſe ſteps would not have been made that have been by them; and that being ſo, I would not have any thing of that kind be done in your abſence; and ſince you ſee there is no poſſibility of carrying on the war as things now ſtand, in my opinion you ought not to appear againſt peace, but ought to go along with the inclinations of the people, and not loſe your intereſt with them by oppoſing the peace, which will be whether you will or no; for as to Spain, you know as well as I the miſerable condition they are in; and as to us here, you ſee how little is to be expected from hence by what paſt the other day in the laſt ſeſſion; ſo that his Majeſty was forced to prorogue them, and now they are to meet again on Thurſday, and

I fear they will be very diſorderly, and that it will be all we can do to keep things quiet here at home; for now the ill men in the Houſe ſtrike directly at the King's authority; and ſhould we have been engaged in a war now, they would have ſo impoſed upon the King, as to leave him nothing but the empty name of a King, and no more power than a Duke of Venice; and how long they would have let him have that name, the Lord knows: I am ſure it would not have been long. I ſay this to you, to let you ſee how neceſſary peace is, and how impoſſible it is for you to carry on the war. You ſee his Majeſty was very willing to have entered into the war, and did his part towards it, and has now actually ready all his land forces, and by the end of this month or the beginning of the next, will have ninety ſhips at ſea: But you ſee the parliament, I ſhould ſay the Houſe of Commons, in five months time have done nothing towards it, but given the poll bill, which may be worth three hundred thouſand pounds once paid, and taken away ſo much a year; and inſtead of giving any farther ſupply, have done nothing but fallen upon the miniſters, and declared they would give no more money till they had ſatisfaction in matters of religion: What effects ſuch proceedings have had where you are you know beſt, and how they will end nobody knows. I could not help ſaying all this to you, to inform you how things are here, that you may take your meaſures accordingly, and not run on in meaſures that may be very prejudicial to our family; and as things now are, the continuance of the war would, in my opinion, both ruin you in Holland, and us here. You ſee I ſpeak my mind very freely to you, I am obliged to do it out of the kindneſs and concern I have for you. I know ſuch a peace as is offered is a very hard one both for you and us to ſubmit to; however, I ſee no remedy: And do not exaſperate France,

France, that may be of uſe to you. Pray let nobody ſee this letter, it is only wrote for you, and not fit for any body elſe to read or to know. I ſay ſo much to you; 'tis only my kindneſs has made me write it, and you may be ſure I ſhall always continue it to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

London, May 24, 1678.

I HAVE juſt now received yours of the 31, from the Hague, and it is now ſo very late that I have time to ſay little to you. I ſee you wiſh more troops might be ſent over into Flanders if they were ready, which they are, and have been all complete for ſome time; but the want of money has been ſuch, that we could ſend over no more than thoſe who are already there, which are 56 companies; and it has been with much difficulty that we got money enough to ſend down one regiment of foot, four troops of horſe, and three of dragoons, into the north, being apprehenſive of ſome diſorders in Scotland; and to ſhew you how little regard is had to what is doing beyond ſea, the Houſe of Commons have done nothing theſe two days, and believe to-morrow they will fall upon finding fault with the Chancellor's ſpeech; ſo little are their minds turned to what they ſhould be, and I believe will fly higher than ever; ſo that you ſee it has not been his Majeſty's fault things have not gone as they ſhould.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Commons want the new-raiſed troops diſbanded.—The Duke wants them kept on foot.

London, May 31, 1678.

THE letters are not yett come from Holland, ſo that we do not know how, what Monſ. Van Bevering has brought to you, will be received, though no doubt is made of the acceptance of the ceſſation of arms by every body here, and the Houſe of Commons are very earneſt for the immediate diſbanding of all the new-raiſed troops, as you will ſee by the vote they have made for that purpoſe; and this day they have buſied themſelves to make the calculation of what money will be neceſſary for the paying them off; which I thinke is very contrary to what ought to be done, and all the reaſonable men I ſpeake with are of the ſame opinion. To-morrow they are to conſider of Lord Chancellor's ſpeech; ſome ſay they will run into heats upon it, and fall upon him and ſome other of the miniſters; I cannot ſay they will, to-morrow will ſhew us. You ſee by all that is done here in how unfit a temper we were to have entered into a war, for all the new raiſed troops are better than could have been expected, and I never ſaw ſo many good looked new men in my life, and I could not have believed the horſe could have been ſo good as they are; 'tis pity they ſhould be diſbanded.

The backwardneſs of England made the Dutch take meaſures for a ſeparate peace with France.

Upon this the Duke of York wrote the following ambiguous letter to the Prince of Orange, ſtill concealing from

from him the ſecret engagement of England with France. The letter is in King William's cabinet.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—About the ſeparate peace between Holland and France.—An ambiguous letter.

London, June 7, 1678.

I SEE by your letter you are very apprehenſive of the ill conſequence this peace may have where you are, as well as to us here. I know it is to be apprehended, as well as it could not be avoided, and it is well done to foreſee dangers afar off, to provide the beſt one can againſt them; but as one does ſee them, ſo one muſt endeavour to provide the beſt one can againſt them, and to prepare one's ſelf for the worſt that may happen, not to be ſurpriſed if it ſhould come to paſſe, but then one muſt not deſpaire and give over the game: And I am of opinion, if you take pains where you are to preſerve your intereſt, and keep up your friends hearts, by being amongſt them in the Hague, and not ſo much in the country, I am confident the faction which is againſt you will be able to do you little harme. You ſee I ſay my mind very freely to you, and am obliged to do it by the concerne I have for you. I have not time to ſay more to you now, but Sir W. Temple will be ſoon over with you, whom I ſhall inſtruct well with what is too long for a letter.

After Louis the XIVth had bought off Charles, and entered into a ſeparate treaty with the Dutch, he thought he might behave as he pleaſed with regard to Spain, and therefore, inſtead of delivering up the Spaniſh towns in Flanders

Flanders as he had agreed to do, he inſiſted to keep poſſeſſion of them until ſatisfaction ſhould be made to his allies the Swedes. This breach of faith raiſed the indignation of almoſt all Europe againſt him, and clamours came from every quarter for Charles to join in a war with the allies for the preſervation of the Netherlands.

Charles upon this once more ſeemed intent to join in a war againſt France, ſent Sir William Temple to make a treaty with Holland, who, with the ſame rapidity with which he had finiſhed the triple alliance, and perhaps as little to the liking of his maſter, concluded in ſix days a treaty with the Dutch to make war upon France, if in two months ſhe did not, without any regard to the intereſts of Sweden, evacuate the Spaniſh towns. But it is probable that Charles meant to make uſe of this apparent inclination for war, only to keep up his forces, to get money from parliament, and to ſqueeze more money from France. The journals of parliament during this ſummer and autumn ſhew his ſtruggles to diſband his army and to get more ſupplies, under the pretence of his intending to join in a war againſt France. It appears from Barillon's diſpatches, that Barillon ſeveral times gave warning to his court that more money would be aſked from it. On the 23d July, 1678, he writes, that Charles had ſent Lord Sunderland to France to make a compromiſe about Sweden. On the 28th July, 1678, he writes thus:—"I am perſuaded that all the demonſtrations of war which are made here will terminate in a treaty, if your Majeſty will give ſubſidies to make England act in favour of Sweden." On the 1ſt of Auguſt Barillon writes, that Charles is endeavouring to form a treaty with France to get ſatisfaction for Sweden.

About the ſame time, Lord St. Alban's at Paris, by his maſter's command, preſented a project to Louis for a

treaty between France and England in favour of Sweden, in consideration of which Charles was to get money for supporting a fleet and army. The project of the treaty follows.

Translation.

Propoſals made by my Lord St. Alban.—England to get a ſubſidy for three years.—Is to maintain a fleet and army at the expence of France in favour of Sweden.—And to be neutral in Flanders.—In the Depot.

THAT his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall give a ſubſidy for three years, the firſt of which ſhall be ſix millions, and the other two four millions each; in conſideration whereof his Britannic Majeſty ſhall furniſh fifteen ſhips and ten thouſand foot to join the ſhips and troops of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty which are to act in favour of the Swedes: That theſe fifteen ſhips ſhall be armed and equipped at his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's expence, and his Britannic Majeſty ſhall only furniſh the bodies of the ſhips, and the number of cannon neceſſary for each, in proportion to the largeneſs of rate. The ten thouſand infantry ſhall be paid by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty as the Engliſh troops were which heretofore were in his pay; that the peace ſhall be made conformable to the project; that the difficulty about the country of Cleves ſhall be terminated to the ſatisfaction of the States General: In caſe the ſaid States General, or the Spaniards do not make peace upon the project within three months, his Britannic Majeſty will remain in an entire neutrality, and recall his troops that are in the Low Countries.

To theſe propoſals is added, that a league ſhould be made between England, the States General, and Sweden, for the guarantee of the treaty of peace, and maintaining

ing the Low Countries in the ſtate they are in, into which league it is thought France will enter, becauſe his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty hath ſhewn he is willing to prevent for the future, all ſuſpicions which England and the States General might have that his deſign was upon the firſt opportunity to finiſh the conqueſt of the Low Countries.

On the 8th Auguſt, 1678, Barillon writes thus:— "He (Danby) repreſented to me that the war which England was to make in favour of the Swedes was entirely againſt the ſentiments of the whole nation, and therefore his maſter could not undertake it without great ſuccour from your Majeſty."

It is highly probable that France made uſe of theſe propoſals of Charles for a treaty in favour of Sweden, to diſappoint the treaty which Sir William Temple had lately made with the Dutch for forcing France to deliver up the towns in Flanders without attending to the intereſts of Sweden. From Sir William Temple's account of affairs at this time, it appears that Du Cros, the Duke of Holſtein's envoy, diſappointed this treaty by bringing news from the court of England into Holland of the connections of France and England in favour of Sweden. I did not ſee evidence in Barillon's letters that Barillon made uſe of Du Cros for this purpoſe. But the following circumſtances make it probable: Several of Barillon's diſpatches ſhew that Du Cros was in the year 1678 in the pay of France, and in the moſt intimate intelligence with Barillon. From Lord Danby's letters which are printed, it appears that Charles was enraged at Du Cros for the intelligence he had carried.

Sir

Sir William Temple relates that Charles ſaid to him, "The rogue Du Cros has outwitted us all;" words, the conſequence of which Temple did not perceive, becauſe he was ignorant of the ſecret traffic of Charles with France concerning Sweden, to which they alluded. The Dutch, informed of the ſecret connections between Charles and Louis, inſtantly quitted the dangerous friendſhip of the firſt of theſe Princes, and in a hurry ſigned the peace of Nimeguen. And perhaps what ſhews as ſtrong as any thing the conſciouſneſs of France of the low paſs to which ſhe had reduced Charles by betraying his double conduct to his allies, is, that when Charles aſked payment of the firſt part of his penſion provided for him by the above treaty of 27th May, 1678, France refuſed to pay him a penny. Barillon writes to his court on the 18th of Auguſt, 1678, that Lord Danby had aſked payment of the penſion ſtipulated; that he, Barillon, told him, that Charles had not kept his part of the terms of the treaty, and therefore was to have none of the penſion. This letter, with two others of the 25th and 29th Auguſt, 1678, deſcribes the anger of Charles and Lord Danby at loſing the money by their own imprudence. In the letter of the 18th Auguſt, Barillon uſes theſe words:—"They know now with much vexation, that they have loſt a conjuncture of which it was eaſy for them to have profited."

The letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange immediately after France had refuſed to evacuate the towns till ſatisfaction was made to Sweden, and during the time of the ſecret negociation with France to ſerve Sweden, are in King William's cabinet. Perhaps they may create ſome doubt of that ſincerity in the Duke's

character which he uſed ſo much to boaſt of, becauſe they convey the idea to the Prince of Orange, that the Duke was equally zealous for the war againſt France at both theſe periods. The letters follow.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His ſurpriſe at hearing the French have refuſed to evacuate the towns.—Diſbanding the army ſtopped.

London, June 21, 1678.

I HAD not time to write to you laſt poſt as I intended, having been kept ſo long at buſineſs that night, that when we had done it was too late to write; ſince when we have been very much alarmed by a letter from Sir L. Jenkins, in which he ſays the French make a difficulty of reſtoring the towns in Flanders to the Spaniards, till the Swedes have entire ſatisfaction; and now we are in very great expectation of the letters, which ſhould have come this day, to know if the French perſiſt ſtill in that their ſo unreaſonable demand: In the mean time we have done our parts, as if it were ſo, for we have ſtopped twenty entire companies of foot of the new-raiſed men, and five hundred commanded men, that were ordered to go for Ireland, till we know the certainty of it. A courier alſo was ſent yeſterday to the ambaſſador at Paris to know the truth on't, and to expoſtulate the matter if ſo; and this day in the Houſe of Lords we have lengthened the time for the diſbanding of the new raiſed troops, and I hope the Houſe of Commons will agree to that alteration, and before that time we ſhall in all likelihood know what to truſt to.

Duke of [illegible] to the Prince of Orange.—Appears keen for war becauſe towns not evacuated.

London, June 24, 1678.

THIS goes to you by Lord Oſſory, whom the letters we had both from Nimeguen and the Hague, about the ſo unreaſonable difficulties the French make, has haſtened over to you, not knowing how ſoon you may fall into action again; and truly I expect it, for as the temper the King of France is, I do not thinke he would have let his ambaſſador at Nimeguen make thoſe difficulties without his being reſolved to ſtand by it, ſo that I look upon the war as certain if in Holland you do your parts, which I cannot doubt on, for his Majeſty will ſtick firm to you for the reſtoring of thoſe towns to the Spaniard, as you will find by Sir William Temple, whom his Majeſty is diſpatching away to you full inſtructed upon all that great affair; and I am glad we have had this time to exerciſe our new troops, for they are now much better than they were, and all know the uſe of their arms very well. Pray have a care of Dendremond as well as Antwerp.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

London, June 25, 1678.

I AM glad to hear your reſolutions have been ſo vigorous; we ſhall ſtand by you for the reſtoring of the towns in Flanders and Maeſtright, and are getting ready five battalions of foot to ſend to Bruges and Newport, which I hope will have a good effect always: They will be of eight companies each.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Sir William Temple ſent to make a treaty with the Dutch.

London, June 27, 1678.

IT is not neceſſary for me to ſay much to you by this bearer, Sir William Temple, he going ſo fully inſtructed to you from his Majeſty upon the affairs that are now in agitation, and I am confident you will be ſatisfied with what he has to ſay to you from his Majeſty; and you will find how firmly you will be ſtuck to in caſe France does not acquieſce with what they had offered you; and let them now do what they pleaſe, I am confident it will have done them no good, and you will find your advantage by it; and I need not put you in mind of laying hold of this advantage they have given you, for I am ſure you have done it already, and I hope you will not be ſo much out of the Hague as you have been for ſome time paſt; for I know by experience that nothing can do one ſo much good as being upon the place where all the buſineſs is done, when by being away one loſes opportunities that may advance one's affairs, and cannot gaine friends as may be as neceſſary for you as well as others. I have ſpoken my mind very freely to this bearer upon this affair, and refer it to him to enlarge upon it; for I am ſo concerned for you that I muſt ſay any thing to you that I think to be for your good, for you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire,

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

London, June 27, 1678.

I COULD not refuſe this bearer, M. Van Leewen, to write to you by him, though I have already done it by Sir William Temple; his Majeſty having thought fit he ſhould go back into Holland, the better to perſuade the States of his readineſs to ſtick by them in caſe France continue in their unreaſonable demands; and I hope his going at this time will have a very good effect; ſince I find he is now of the mind he ſhould be.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Troops ſent over. —The parliament is giving money.

London, July 5, 1678.

YOU will before this have had Sir William Temple and M. Van Leewen with you, and I hope they will have ſatisfied both you and the States with his Majeſty's good intentions to ſtick by you, if you will take vigorous reſolutions, which I hope you will, notwithſtanding the loſs M. de Loraine has had of ſome of the troops endeavouring to relieve Reinfeld, of which before this you know the particulars; but we are not yet informed of them, and if it has no ill effect where you are, I am ſure it will have none here; and in my mind it ought to make you adhere firmly to your reſolutions, for elſe at Vienna it might have an ill effect. This day a battalion of eight companies embarked at Blackwall for Newport, and this day alſo another ſets ſail from Portſmouth for the ſame place, and three battalions more will be embarked by Tueſday next for Newport and Bruges; ſo that when they are landed, we ſhall have ninety-ſix companies of foot

foot in Flanders, which will make upwards of 9000 men, and when it is neceſſary, more ſhall be ready to follow. The parliament draws now to an end, and will I hope conclude well, for many of the angry men are gone out of town, and I am told the money bill will come up to the Lords on Monday or Tueſday next, and when that is once paſt, we ſhall ſoon riſe.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Waits for ſteps to be taken by the Dutch.

London, July 8, 1678.

I RECEIVED laſt night your's of the 12th from the Hague, and can now ſay but little to you in anſwer to it, only that if you do your parts we ſhall do ours, ſo that it abſolutely depends upon what is done where you are; for it is not to be expected that we ſhould make any farther ſtep till we are ſure of you, which I hope is done by this upon Sir William Temple's arrival with you. I write this by Lord Oſſory, who is juſt a going away; he can inform you of all things here, ſo that I ſhall ſay no more, only to aſſure you of the continuance of my kindneſs.

Pray have a care of Antwerp and Dendermond.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

London, July 12, 1678.

ALL things depend upon the reſolution where you are, for here we are all ready, and the money bill is paſt, which is all we could expect till we be actually entered into the war. We ſhall, I believe, end this ſeſſions on Monday next, but though I believe we ſhall not meet till towards

towards winter, yet the Houſes will, I think, only be adjourned for a fortnight or three weeks, ſo that if there ſhould be need for them ſooner than towards winter we might have them: This is only my opinion, but will not be poſitively reſolved on till Sunday. Mr. Montagu is in diſgrace, and his Majeſty ordered this day his name to be put off the council book, and is ſending immediately away Lord Sunderland, ambaſſador to Paris, in his room.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Deſires plan of war to be adjuſted.

London, July 17, 1678.

"WE have been ſo encouraged by the laſt letters from Holland, and ſee ſuch likelihood of the war, that his Majeſty has deſired this bearer, the Marquis de Bourgemain, to go over to you to agree with you and the Duke de Villahermoza, of the plan of the war for the remainder of this campaign, in caſe we enter into it, of which I do not doubt, ſince I make none of your agreeing to Sir William Temple's propoſals: Lord Feverſham goes too."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

London, July 18, 1678.

"HIS Majeſty having thought fit to ſend Lord Feverſham along with the Marquis de Bougermaine to you, to adjuſt all things with you concerning the war in caſe it continues, as now I believe it will; I would not let him go without writing to you by him, though he be fully inſtructed of all things here: What I have to ſay I refer

I refer to him, and have alſo charged him to aſſure you of the continuance of my kindneſſe to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Promiſes vigour in the war.

London, July 19, 1678.

"I RECEIVED this afternoon two of yours, of the 19 and 26; by the laſt of which I was very glad to find the treaty was ſigned; but there are ſome things are wanting in it, and others which will require being explained, as you will know more at large from Sir W. Temple, to which I am ſure you will give your helping hand that they may be agreed to; in the mean time we are ſending over, as faſt as we can, two thouſand horſe and dragoons, but you cannot expect them at ſooneſt till after the term prefixed be expired, we having not thoſe conveniences here that you have where you are for embarking of horſes, and till the war be declared we cannot let you have any of our foot to join your army, which cannot be till thoſe points you will hear off be agreed to; in the mean time no time ſhall be loſt in preparing every thing to carry on the war with vigour."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.—Is to go over with the troops himſelf, if needful.

London, July 26, 1678.

"I RECEIVED two days ſince your's from Vilvorde, by the which I ſee you were come to your army, and were reſolved to ſee what could be done for the redeeming of Mons. I hope upon the intelligence you have had of their being able to hold out ſome time, that you will not yet hazard any thing, and the M. de Bourgemaine

gemaine and the Earl of Feverſhem, who have been with you before this, will have perſuaded you to it, in caſe the place be no more preſt than we hear it is; and that which makes me more deſirous you ſhould not yet hazard any thing, is, that upon his Majeſty having read your letter, he has commanded me to tell you, that he will get in readineſs what troops can be ſpared from hence, beſides thoſe that are already in Flanders, to join with you in caſe the French do not conclude the peace in the time prefixed, being reſolved if they will not evacuate the towns to proſecute the war vigorouſly; and that no time may be loſt, in caſe it muſt be war, the Duke of Monmouth is to go from hence on Sunday for Bruges to have the troops that are already there in readineſs to march if the war goes on; and I ſhall take care for the embarking of thoſe that are yet here as ſoon as poſſible, and be ready to go over with them myſelf if occaſion be. It was thought neceſſary to let you know this, even before we heard from Lord Feverſham, that you might take your meaſures accordingly. We have now ready in Flanders fourteen battalions of foot, as many of which ſhall be ready to march at a day's warning if the peace be not made, as you and the Spaniards ſhall think fit; beſides which, we have two battalions of foot more, and 3000 horſe and dragoons to be embarked from hence by the end of next week: The horſe and dragoons you may reckon to be effective, and each battalion of foot to be about ſeven hundred. When my nephew comes to Bruges you will hear from him.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—More troops ſent over.

London, July 29, 1678.

"I RECEIVED your's from the camp at Grimberg of the 2d of Auguſt, before Lord Feverſham came hither; and laſt night my nephew the Duke of Monmouth went for Oſtend, and the wind is ſo fair I hope he may be there by this time, with orders to draw out eight battalions of foot of thoſe we have in Flanders, which are fourteen, and make what haſte he can with them to you; we alſo ſend two battalions more from hence ſtrait for Antwerp, which I hope will be embarked on Wedneſday: You ſee we do all we can, and loſe no time. I wiſh they may come time enough to you, but fear they cannot. This morning Lord Feverſham and the Marquis de Bourgemaine came hither, and upon what they have ſaid from you, have put a ſtop to the embarking of our 3000 horſe and dragoons till we hear farther from you, but ſhall ſtill keep them in readineſs.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—More troops to go over.—Affects ignorance about Sweden.

London, Auguſt 2, 1678.

I RECEIVED your's from Cappel of the 4th of Auguſt, and by this time you will know that the ratification of the treaty went away laſt poſt; ſo that you ſhall find that nothing ſhall be wanting on our ſide; but by the laſt letters from Holland we have heard what the Swedes have done, and that moſt people there look upon the peace as certain; however, we here ſhall not look upon it as done till all be concluded, and our two battalions that were to go from hence will embark on Sunday and Monday for Antwerp.

Diſappointed in this manner both of the money for the treaty of neutrality, and of the money for the aſſiſtance of Sweden, Charles broke off his connections with France, ſent a greater army to Flanders, and endeavoured by the ſtrongeſt promiſes of aſſiſtance, but in vain, to animate the Dutch to diſregard the treaty they had juſt ſigned, and to prevent other powers from acceding to it. During four ſhort months after the Dutch had ſigned the peace of Nimeguen, Charles was for once in his life ſincerely an enemy to France.

During this period there are the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, in King William's cabinet.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His ſurpriſe and anger at the Dutch ſigning the peace at Nimeguen.—Affects ignorance about Sweden.

London, Sunday night, Aug. 4, 1678.

"WE were very much ſurprized this day to hear by an expreſs from Nimeguen, that the peace was ſigned only by the Dutch and French without the Spaniards, and that the mediators had refuſed to ſign, though offered by them, to have their hand in ſuch a ſeparate peace. I believe it was what you did not expect no more than we, and the manner of it was extraordinary, and what M. Bevering ſaid upon his ſigning it; and by what we hear, the Swedes ſeem not to be pleaſed at it. For my part, it has ſo ſtunned me I do not know what to ſay upon it, nor gueſs what will follow upon it. I long very much to hear from you after your having heard

of it. In the mean time, we do not put a ſtop to the embarking of the troops deſigned from hence, not knowing what may happen, for the two battalions that were deſigned to go from hence will be on ſhip-board by Tueſday next, and the horſe and dragoons which were ordered to be ready, will be all this week at the water-ſide, and ready to go on ſhip-board at twenty-four hours warning. His Majeſty has alſo ordered his troops that are by this time with you to continue with you, or to go back into Flanders from whence they came, as you ſhall find moſt expedient, which is all I have to ſay to you till I hear from you upon this affair, which ſo turns my head as I do hardly know what to ſay."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Congratulates him on the battle fought after the peace.—Promiſes aſſiſtance.

London, Aug. 12, 1678.

"I READ with a great deal of ſatisfaction your's of the 16th, in which you give an account of what you had done near Mons, for I received it but on Saturday night; and before that by the way of France, we had heard of your having been engaged, ſo that until I received your's, I was in great pain for you, and that day's action; but now I am at eaſe for both, and very much pleaſed for what you have done, for by what I hear from all ſides, it was a very bold and vigorous action, and as bravely carried on. I am very glad you are ſo well ſatisfied with Lord Oſſory and his Majeſty's ſubjects, and that they behaved themſelves ſo well. I hope thoſe that before this are come to you will not diſcredit the nation. I am glad my nephew the Duke of Monmouth had the good fortune to be with you; he has done juſtice to your troops, and given the higheſt commendation

mendation to your foot guards and dragoons that can be, and which they deſerve. We are very impatient for the to-morrow's letters, and hope to hear you have gained your point and relieved Mons. His Majeſty has diſpatched away Mr. Hyde to the Hague; and I believe you will not be diſpleaſed with the inſtruction he carries, the ſubſtance of which you will have in cypher from the Lord Treaſurer; ſo that I ſhall not repeat it to you, by which you will ſee we do our parts, and that you ſhall always have reaſon to believe me as kind to you as you can deſire."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

London, Aug. 13, 1678.

"I RECEIVED this morning your's of the 20th from your camp near Revs, by the which I was very glad to find you had obtained your end without a ſecond engagement, which has been much for your honour, and I hope will ſet all things to rights where you are going. Before you receive this, you will have ſeen Mr. Hyde, and found that what you deſired was done by advance; and I am ſure you will have been pleaſed with the orders he carried, and you may be ſure that nothing ſhall be wanting on our ſide, which that you may ſee, we ſhall ſend over with all poſſible ſpeed three thouſand horſe and dragoons, and three battalions of foot into Flanders; it will be eight days before the firſt can embarke, but the foot ſhall go ſooner. We tell them here they ſhall go for Brabant to join your army, becauſe we would not have the French know they are to go to Flanders before they be landed there, which when they ſhall know, will oblige them to fill their garriſons on that

that ſide, and by that means weaken their main army. We go to-morrow morning early to Windſor, but that ſhall not hinder any of our preparations, for you ſhall find we ſhall be very vigorous in ſtanding by you, and you ſhall have reaſon to believe me kinder to you than ever."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Deſpairs of the French making peace.

Windſor, Auguſt 19, 1678.

"THIS bearer tells me he will be with you as ſoon as the poſt, ſo that I will anſwer by him yours of the 23 from the Hague; and according to what you wrote about a general ſuſpenſion of arms, his Majeſty has ſent orders to his plenipotentiary at Nimeguen to propoſe it; but I doubt the French know too well the advantage they have to agree to it, unleſs they have more mind to a peace than I believe they have. We are in very great impatience to hear what reſolutions you will have taken upon Mr. Hyde's arrival; I am ſure you will be ſatisfied with the orders he carried, by which you will have ſeen we ſhall do our parts here, and you may be always aſſured of the continuance of my kindneſs to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—More troops ſent over.—Is to go over himſelf.

Windſor, Aug. 20, 1678.

"I WROTE yeſterday to you, but this will be ſooner with you, and therefore ſhall give you an account of the troops deſigned for Flanders, which will begin to embarke

embarke on Monday next, and wind and weather permitting, may be all landed at Oſtend by the end of that week: They are compoſed of 27 troops of horſe, 60 in each troop; 12 troops of dragoons, of 80 a-piece; and two battalions of foot, of 9 companies in each. The Earl of Feverſham goes over to command them, and he goes over before, himſelf, this week to prepare their quarters, and by that time the ceſſation will be ended. I hope the horſe will be refreſhed and ready for any ſervice if there be need of them; and if the war goes on, you will conſider whether it will be beſt for the ſervice for them to ſtay there in Flanders, or to join your army, or to have thoſe foot of ours, which are already with your army, come back into Flanders, to ſee to make a diverſion on that ſide now that Mons is relieved. I thought it neceſſary to mention this to you, that you may have in your thoughts how to diſpoſe of them for the beſt of the ſervice, for they ſhall be diſpoſed on as you think beſt, and pray let me know when it may be proper for me to go over myſelf, and then I ſhall bring ſome more troops with me. Lord Feverſham will write to you ſo ſoon as he is on the other ſide of the water. I long very much to hear what reſolutions are taken at the Hague; I hope they will be to both of our ſatisfactions."

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—More troops ſent.—He is himſelf to go.

Windſor, Aug. 23, 1678.

"SINCE I wrote laſt to you his Majeſty has altered his mind as to the place where he will ſend thoſe troops I mentioned to you, and inſtead of ſending them into Flanders, has ordered them up the Scheld to land near

near Antwerp, and ſo to march towards the army to join it after they have refreſhed themſelves a little. This was reſolved upon the Duke of Monmouth's repreſenting to his Majeſty, that you had rather have the foot that is now to go, to join your army than to go for Bruges; and beſides that, that the whole country of Flanders was now ſo ſickly, that certainly theſe troops which are now going over would ſoon have been rendered in as ill a condition to ſerve as thoſe that are there already; whereas, going into Brabant, and to join the army, we hope they may not be ſo ſickly. But before this reſolution was taken, the two Spaniſh miniſters were adviſed with about it, and have written to the Duke de Villahermoſa to advertiſe him of it. The troops will begin to embark on Monday or Tueſday at fartheſt, and Lord Feverſham goes a day or two before to prepare things for them. We had a very large account laſt poſt from Mr. Hyde, of what had then paſt upon his coming, and are very impatient for the next letters to know what reſolutions will be taken, which I wiſh may be vigorous ones, and then I may hope to be ſoon with you on the other ſide of the water; which is all I have to ſay, but that you may always depend upon my kindneſſe."

No V.

Letters from Barillon to the French court, concerning his intrigues with Mr. Montagu and the popular party to accuſe Lord Danby in parliament; and from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange in the mean time.

BUT while Charles was ſpending his anger every where in vain againſt France, ſhe was ſecretly preparing a mine to blow up his miniſter and expoſe himſelf,

by getting one of his own ſervants to lay before parliament one of thoſe ſecret money tranſactions, into which ſhe had herſelf drawn him. The beginning of the intrigue of Mr. Mountagu's attack upon Lord Danby in parliament, is to be found in the following diſpatch of Barillon to Louis the XIVth.

Tranſlation.

Letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, October 24, 1678.

SIRE,

"MR. Montagu and I have had many occaſions of talking upon the preſent ſtate of affairs. I thought I ought not to hide entirely from him the reaſons which your Majeſty has to be ill ſatisfied with the conduct of the court of England to you for ſome time paſt, which was already ſufficiently known to him: This engaged him to ſpeak openly to me, and to tell me it was in his power to ruin the high Treaſurer, and that he would attack him in parliament, and accuſe him of treaſon, if he was aſſured of the protection and good will of your Majeſty in caſe of the conſequences which this accuſation might have. He pretends to prove from this miniſter's letters, that he ordered him on the part of his Britannic Majeſty to aſk a ſum of 18 millions from your Majeſty, and to declare that it was the only means to prevent his joining your enemies, and without it that he ſhould be obliged to enter into the league againſt France, and to declare war againſt you. He alleges that his refuſal to obey ſo extraordinary and ſo unreaſonable an order, and which was given unknown to the Secretaries of State, drew upon him the enmity of this miniſter, and that it would be eaſy for him to

ſhew the parliament for what deſign 18 millions were wanted; and at the ſame time the parliament will ſee that your Majeſty was not willing to enter into the ſchemes which were forming for the oppreſſion of England, and the change of government. Mr. Montagu believes this accuſation will infallibly ruin the high Treaſurer. I thought I could not refuſe hearkening to a propoſal, the conſequence of which may be conformable to your Majeſty's intentions. The King of England can receive no greater embarraſſment than to ſee a man attacked who has all his confidence. If this accuſation has any ſucceſs, his Britannic Majeſty muſt fall into great inconveniencies whether he ſupports or abandons his prime miniſter. No one can ever be ſure of any thing in this country: But this accuſation cannot be entirely fruitleſs, becauſe it is not deſtitute of foundation, and according to appearances Mr. Montagu would not attempt it unleſs he ſaw ſome proſpect of ſucceeding. We have diſcourſed to the bottom concerning the means he intends to make uſe of to accompliſh his deſign. I cannot anſwer that his meaſures are ſure, but he hopes to be ſeconded by many conſiderable perſons who will join him. However, he does not believe he ſhall be able to bear the weight of ſuch an undertaking if your Majeſty will not alſo contribute to it on your part. He aſks that whatever your Majeſty would do to traverſe the deſigns of the court of England, and hinder the keeping up of the army, may be employed at the ſame time to favour what he undertakes. His demand is, that your Majeſty will make a fund here of one hundred thouſand livres, which ſhould be employed to gain votes, and to make ſure of ſeven or eight of the principal perſons in the lower Houſe, who may ſupport the accuſation as ſoon as it ſhall be begun. This expence and the employing this ſum is not to be done without my parti-

cipation and conſent: That no money is to be given of which I ſhould not know the advantage before-hand: That if in the end this ſcheme has no ſucceſs, and the high Treaſurer can maintain himſelf and overcome this attack, Mr. Montagu ſubmits himſelf to your Majeſty's generoſity to uſe him in ſuch a manner as you ſhall think proper, and grant him ſuch marks of your good will and protection as you ſhall pleaſe; and in this caſe your Majeſty ſhall be obliged to nothing. But if the accuſation ſucceeds, and the high Treaſurer is ruined in ſix months from this time, Mr. Montagu hopes that your Majeſty will recompenſe him for the ſervice he ſhall do, and indemnify him for the loſs he will infallibly ſuffer in his fortune and his poſts. The King of England will probably uſe all his efforts to revenge himſelf of a man who in the perſon of his Prime Miniſter has attacked himſelf. Mr. Montague aſked in this caſe that your Majeſty ſhould cauſe the ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns to be paid him, or that your Majeſty would ſecure to him an annuity of forty thouſand livres, on the Hotel de Ville, payable out of the funds that have been laſt ſettled. He will put this annuity in the name of perſons moſt agreeable to your Majeſty, and it ſhall remain his property to be diſpoſed of, nevertheleſs ſubject to your Majeſty's pleaſure; that is to ſay, that he ſhall not ſell nor alienate it without your permiſſion. If neither of theſe propoſitions be agreeable to your Majeſty, he will content himſelf with your promiſe of a penſion of fifty thouſand livres during his life: Thus it is in your Majeſty's choice to give him either the ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns in hand, or an annuity of forty thouſand livres upon the Hotel de Ville, or a penſion of fifty thouſand livres during his life; and this in caſe only that the accuſation ſucceeds, and the Treaſurer is removed from court in ſix months; for if this happens,

Mr. Montagu does not think he ſhould be expoſed to the King of England's hatred, as he will be, if what he attempts ſucceeds. Six months time is taken, becauſe it is preſumed that his Britannic Majeſty will uſe his efforts to preſerve his miniſter, and that at firſt he will ſupport him. I ſhall not take upon me to give counſel to your Majeſty; I ought to content myſelf with executing with care the orders you ſhall give me. However, as your Majeſty hath commanded me to do every thing that is poſſible to raiſe troubles to the King of England, it does not appear to me that any thing could poſſibly happen more diſagreeable to him than to ſee the man accuſed in parliament in whom he has repoſed the care of affairs, and the government of his kingdom for two years. The Treaſurer's enemies, who are very numerous, will take courage, and it is not impoſſible that the Duke of York may abandon him and turn againſt him. It may happen that the King of England will prorogue his parliament as ſoon as the Treaſurer is attacked; but if he does it, he will have no money either to ſubſiſt his army, or to diſband it. This may engage him to take a deſperate ſtep, and attempt ſomething violent. I much doubt whether the event of it would be fortunate for him. Your Majeſty will be able to weigh all the reaſons on the one ſide and the other, and to command me according to your will. Whatever part your Majeſty takes, I do not believe any inconvenience can happen to you, becauſe Mr. Montagu's head is in danger if what he has treated upon with me be ever known. I am, &c.

(Signed) BARILLON."

The French intrigues in parliament were attended with the moſt important conſequences. The King and the Prince of Orange were equally perplexed, and France ſerved, by the contradictory movements in parliament with regard to the French war, of which the Duke of York and Lord Danby complain in their letters recited above. From Barillon's diſpatches of 20th and 27th October, 24th November, and 22d December, 1678, it appears, that after Montague's offer to accuſe Lord Danby, Barillon was continually buſied in extending the party which was averſe to Danby; that Barillon believed Danby in revenge gave ear to the popiſh plot to make France odious, and permitted the intrigues of Colman to be expoſed to hurt Barillon himſelf; that Lord Halifax was privy to the intention of impeaching Lord Danby, in order to riſe on his ruins, and Algernon Sidney was the perſon who managed the correſpondence between him and Lord Halifax concerning it; that there was much heſitation about the time when the attack ſhould be made, the leaders of the popular party inſiſting it ſhould not be until the King had been forced to diſband his army; and that in the end it was made ſooner than was intended, by the ſudden order of Lord Danby (who had probably ſuſpected what was going on) for the ſeizing of Mr. Montague's papers. The effects of Mr. Montague's accuſation in parliament were, the ruin of Lord Danby's miniſtry, the diſſolution of the parliament, the diſgrace of the King on account of his traffic for money with France, and a foundation laid for a long train of evils to him and his brother.

The names of many of the popular party who intrigued with France, the political principles by which they

they reconciled this conduct to their own minds, and the motives of intereſt which may alſo be ſuppoſed to have had weight with them, will be ſeen in the next chapter.

It did not eſcape the ſagacity of Lord Keeper North, that there muſt have been an inviſible hand which directed the irregular movements of the Houſe of Commons at this time. In his manuſcript memorandums there are the following paſſages:

Extracts from Lord Keeper North's manuſcript memorandums.

"IT was very ſtrange to ſee the papiſts join in the cry againſt the court, and the country party keep company with the French Ambaſſador, and Mr. Coleman (who was truly a penſioner of France), ſend letters of intelligence to his friends in ſeveral parts, burleſquing the orders of government and their buckling to France, and magnifying Spain and the confederates, and boaſting of a true Engliſh ſpirit, and he was turned out of the Duke's ſervice, for theſe pranks, by the King's command, which made him be more cheriſhed by the whigs who converſed with him, eſpecially in parliament time, when he always made them welcome to his table.

And it was obſerved the papiſts in the Houſe of Lords did join with the diſcontented Lords againſt the teſt (which I am credibly informed was upon an aſſurance given them they ſhould never be turned out upon any teſt), and likewiſe for to addreſs for the diſſolution of that Houſe of Commons. In the firſt they prevailed, and were ſerved as all who truſt the fanatics are uſually ſerved,

ſerved, who all of them joined in the excluſion of them by an act of the ſame parliament."

" WHEN Coleman was in the pay of the French, he held correſpondence with Monſieur le Chaiſe, and he wrote news-papers againſt the French and Jeſuits amongſt the fanatics."

" IT was ſtrange to me that the Houſe of Commons ſhould be ſo earneſt to perſuade the King to enter into an actual war with France, and when he had made preparations in order for it, that the factious party ſhould repreſent them as intended to enſlave the nation, and that good men ſhould be able to believe it.

" Here were two rocks, France and arbitrary power. If the King ſhould not make war, it were kindneſs to France; if he did, his very army was ſhewed to the people as a bugbear. It is certain that the gentry were in ſome fear to ſee ſo gallant an army ſo quickly raiſed, and to be rid of it muſt join to call it popiſh; and to make the name more odious, the plot muſt be magnified, and the poſts and chains ſet up in the city, and the trained bands up every night, to the citizens immenſe charge, who were in ſo real (though ſenſeleſs) a fright that they bore it very patiently."

" IN order to have foreign enmitys againſt the government, the faction preſs them to a foreign war, which will be ſure to make the enemies comfort them at home; and if any object that foreign war may bring miſery upon the people, and hinder trade, which will make confuſion; all the better, ſay they, when the people are enraged we will charge the fault upon whom we pleaſe."

" A GREAT

"A GREAT ſtateſman (Lord Danby) once reſolved to oppoſe France and popery, which were popular meaſures one would have thought him ſafe in. But France tempted him with that which to have refuſed would have made his maſter ruin him; and the negociation itſelf being criminous was expoſed. The plot accuſers loved his adverſary better than him, and when he cheriſhed them they accuſed even him. A ſtateſman ſhould not rely, as he did, upon tools (Doctor Tong, Oates) that are guided by others."

The Lord Keeper was ſo far in the right, with regard to Coleman's being employed by Barillon as an incendiary to diſturb Charles's government, that ſome of Barillon's diſpatches mention his giving money to him in that way; and in a volume of ſupplement to Barillon's diſpatches in the Depot, for the years 1679 and 1680, there is a memorial from his widow to the French court, tranſmitted by Monſieur Barillon, in which ſhe ſets forth, that Monſ. Barillon had promiſed her huſband 65,000 livres for his ſervices, in caſe war was not declared by England againſt France; that he had received only half the ſum, and that Barillon ſcrupled paying the other half to her without an order: *Vide* alſo the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, November 7, 1678, where Coleman confeſſes that he got money from Barillon to be diſtributed in the Houſe of Commons.

The Prince of Orange alſo, at a later period, got ſome information of the intrigues of France in parliament. Blancard's memorial, mentioned in the laſt chapter, contains theſe words:—"The King of France

France would have been very ſorry that he (i. e. Charles) had been abſolute in his ſtates; one of his moſt conſtant maxims ſince the re-eſtabliſhment of that Prince having been to ſet him at variance with his parliament, and to make uſe ſometimes of the one, ſometimes of the other, and always by money to gain his ends."

There are in King William's cabinet the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, written during the quarrel between King Charles and Louis the XIVth, from the peace of Nimeguen until the fall of Lord Danby's miniſtry.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the trick of the popiſh plot.—Godfrey's murder.

London, October 18, 1678.

"THIS pretended plot is ſtill under examination, and the judges are to give their opinion whether one witneſs in point of treaſon be ſufficient to proceed criminally againſt any body: And I do verily believe that when this affair is thoroughly examined, it will be found nothing but malice againſt the poor Catholics in general, and myſelf in particular. There is another thing happened, which is, that a juſtice of peace, one Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, was miſſing ſome days, ſuſpected by ſeveral circumſtances, very probable ones, to deſign the making himſelf away; yeſterday his body was found in a by-place in the fields, ſome two or three miles off, with his own ſword through him. This makes a great noiſe, and is laid upon the Catholics alſo, but without any reaſon for it, for he was known to be

far from being an enemy to them. All theſe things happening together will cauſe, I am afraid, a great ſtorm in the parliament when they meet on Monday, for thoſe diſaffected to the government will inflame all things as much as they can."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Matters point to a rebellion in England.

London, December 3, 1678.

"AFFAIRS in general go very ill, for you ſee the Commons will not ſo much as hearken to the keeping up any longer the troops we have in Flanders and Brabant, ſo that they muſt of neceſſity be ſoon ſent for over, it being impoſſible to keep them there for want of money, and a bill is now paſſing in the Houſe of Commons for their being diſbanded out of hand, and to ſend for them preſently over for that intent; and yeſterday the miniſters in general were fallen upon, and all things look as they did in the beginning of the late rebellion; and truly I believe there will be great diſorders here before it be long, if things continue at the rate they are; and the republican party is very buſy at work. As for what concerns myſelf, ſince my proviſo has paſſ, I have been let alone, but how long that will continue I do not know, for ſome continue their good will to me ſtill."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Duke of Monmouth endeavours to be accounted legitimate.

London, December 9, 1678.

"THINGS go on very ill ſtill, and I am afraid things will grow to a greater heat than ever, and that they will every day do ſomething to leſſen the King's autho-

rity;

rity; and I am told they will again fall upon the Queen and myſelf, and that to-morrow will be the day. I believe you have heard of ſome fooliſh diſcourſes have gone about town concerning the Duke of Monmouth; they continue ſtill, and ſome of his friends talk as indiſcreetly on the ſame ſubject. The republicans, and others of the boldeſt fanatics, are they that ſpread it moſt abroad, hoping to reap ſome advantage by it againſt our families; but if they can do us harm no other way, I ſhall not much fear them: However, I ſhall be watchful upon that matter, and not deſpiſe it neither, and if I find it neceſſary ſhall take notice of it to his Majeſty, who continues very kind to me. I have written ſo freely, this going by a ſafe hand."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Intention of the Commons to impeach Danby and diſband the army.

London, Dec. 17, 1678.

"I HAVE not heard from you this good while, however that does not hinder me from writing, though one has not great pleaſure in giving any account of what paſſes here, things not going as they ſhould. This day was once deſigned by ſome to have brought in an impeachment againſt the Lord Treaſurer, but they have deferred it; ſome think it is deferred only to ſee what ſucceſs the bill for the diſbanding the army will have in our Houſe; and when that ſhall be paſt them, have at us all. To-morrow we go upon it in a committee of the whole Houſe, and we ſhall I believe have a warm debate concerning ſome amendments which are of abſolute neceſſity to be made in it. In the mean time his Majeſty ſeeing to draw over his troops as ſoon as he can, and the weather being frоſty as it is, has altered his mind of having thoſe in Brabant come down the Scheld from Ant-

werp, and designs now to have them march over land to Ostend to embark there, and is sending away orders to that purpose.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Account of Montagu's attack upon Lord Danby.

London, Dec. 20, 1678.

"YOUR's of the 20th I received but last night, by the which I see you think it very strange that people here do so push for the disbanding of the army. I am of your opinion; but what will that signify, since it is so pushed on by the parliament?—This day we made an end to the amendments of that bill, and to-morrow shall pass it and send it down again to the House of Commons. I believe they will not approve of our amendment, which will cause some debate between the Houses. I believe you will be surprised to hear what Mr. Montagu has done; for being yesterday accused in council of having had secret conferences with the Pope's Nuncio at Paris, he to revenge himself of that, produces letters written to him by the Lord Treasurer by his Majesty's command, when he was ambassador in France, and shews them to the Commons, who upon it ordered an impeachment to be drawn up against the Lord Treasurer upon the matter contained in those letters, and other things they had against him. I am confident there was never so abominable an action as this of Mr. Montagu's, and so offensive to the King, in revealing what he was trusted with when he was employed by his Majesty: All honest men abhor him for it. To-morrow I believe the impeachment will be brought up to our House, then we shall see what the articles will be. I make no doubt but that the Lord Treasurer will defend himself very well; I

am ſure his Majeſty is bound to ſtand by him. You ſee at what a rate things go here: I ſee little hope of their mending. Next week is like to be a buſy week with us, though it be the Chriſtmas holidays."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of diſbanding part of the troops.

London, Jan. 10, 1678.

"AS for news, here is none conſiderable, but what I believe pleaſes you no more than it does me, which is, that there are already three of the new-raiſed regiments of horſe diſbanded; and the reſt of the new-raiſed troops will be ſo too as faſt as money can be got to pay them off. As for other things; the face of affairs looks very ill ſtill, and the ill-affected people do keep up the fears and jealouſies as much as ever, and men's minds are as unſettled as ever, and fit for any diſorder, and I very much fear we ſhall find the effects of it ſo ſoon as the troops are diſbanded; and then we ſhall not only be liable to diſorders at home, but be expoſed to attempts from abroad."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the ſame ſubject.—Anxious on his own account.

London, Jan. 17, 1678-9.

"I DID not write to you by laſt poſt, having then but little to ſay, and now all that is, is that his Majeſty declared in council this afternoon that he would put off the meeting of the parliament till the 25th of next month; for till that time he believed he ſhould not be able to have diſbanded the new-raiſed troops, or to have found out the bottom of the plot, both which he would willingly do before

before they met; as for the diſbanding, as faſt as they come out of Flanders it will be done, and for the plot, a committee of council ſits every morning. I wiſh we may not repent before few months paſs the parting with ſo many good troops; for I muſt confeſs I do not like to hear the French are getting ſo conſiderable a fleet ready at Breſt, eſpecially when I conſider the poſture affairs are in at home; and I aſſure you great arts are uſed by ſome to enflame men's mind, which is now eaſily done; and how all things will end, the Lord only knows; and for myſelf, thoſe who appeared againſt me when the parliament ſat are as malicious againſt me as ever."

CHAP. IV.

From the fall of Lord Danby's miniſtry until the diſſolution of the laſt parliament of Charles II.

THE new Houſe of Commons, in the beginning of the year 1679, preſſed forward to the exclusion in the footſteps of their predeceſſors, but with more force: For, the church and diſſenters, uniting their intereſts, had returned a new Houſe of Commons more zealous than the former. They voted, that the proſpect of the Duke's ſucceſſion to the crown was the cauſe of the popiſh plot; and, in order to ſecure the people, by linking their intereſts with thoſe of the Houſe of Commons, they contrived a variety of popular bills. Promiſing appearances of the exclusion in the ſecond parliament.

A prince who is ſtrong, while his enemies are weak, may ſometimes truſt them, becauſe he may win them by a generous confidence, and may always command them: But woe to the Prince who puts himſelf into the hands of his oppoſers, when he is weak and they ſtrong. Upon the fall of Lord Danby, the Ducheſs of Portſmouth, who was the King's miſtreſs, and Lord Sunderland, who was his confidant, though connected in ſecret with ſeveral leaders of the popular party, both of whom were afraid of being involved in the fate of Lord Danby, adviſed the King to commit the conduct of his buſineſs to thoſe who had formerly oppoſed it; perſuading him, that the popula- New council.

popularity of the meaſure would induce parliament to give him money. The popular Lords, Eſſex and Halifax, were, together with Lord Sunderland, declared his miniſters; and a new council was framed, commonly called Sir William Temple's council, becauſe the King deceived him into the idea, that he was the firſt projector of it, into which many of the popular leaders in parliament were admitted, and at the head of which Lord Shafteſbury was placed. The Duke of Monmouth was allowed great ſway in this council. Theſe new miniſters obliged the King to conſent to diſband the army; and when he diſcovered an intention of reſerving to himſelf the feeble aid of one company of guards, compoſed of 200 diſbanded officers, with a view to have officers ready if he ſhould afterwards raiſe troops, he was checqued by one of his miniſters, the Earl of Eſſex*, and Lord Sunderland under-hand encouraged Eſſex in doing ſo. They yielded to ſundry popular laws which were brought into parliament, and yet got no money from parliament for their maſter, who was in real want, as the price of them. Suſpecting and dreading the intrigues of France with the King, becauſe many of them knew the force of them upon themſelves, the new council made an order, that no foreign miniſter ſhould ſpeak to him without aſking an audience. In vain, to prevent the bill of excluſion from being brought into the Houſe of Commons, the King offered to impoſe ſuch limitations upon a popiſh ſucceſſor, as would have left him little more than the title of royalty. The Duke in his exile complained of his brother's project more than of that of the Houſe of Commons; and the Prince of Orange remonſtrated againſt it, either becauſe he thought the monarchy would not recover its ſplendour in the perſon of his con-

* Vid. Appendix.

ſort,

fort, if it was debaſed in her father's, or becauſe he did not wiſh to ſee diviſions terminated from which he might himſelf reap advantage. Some of the new miniſters adviſed Charles to the excluſion, and others to the baniſhment of the Duke. Lord Ruſſel, even whilſt a member of the new council, had carried up to the Lords the vote which was preparatory to the bill of excluſion. And Sunderland, Eſſex, and Halifax, with the Ducheſs of Portſmouth, ſolicited Charles to give a public promiſe that he would never recal the Duke without the conſent of his council. The Duke, in the mean time, continued at Bruſſels, doubtful of his fate, and, according to the nature of the human mind when in a ſtate of anxiety, ſometimes truſting to, and at other times diſtruſting the ſteadineſs of his brother. He was the more incited to ſuſpicion, becauſe he had not been acquainted with the framing of the new council, until it was framed.

Many other things now promiſed ſucceſs to the bill of excluſion. To men in high tides of public paſſion, the dangers of poſterity appear equal to their own. The hatred and fear of popery were naturally transferred upon a Prince who publicly profeſſed it. The King, becauſe a ſteady friend to few, was thought to have only a few attached to him. His brother, becauſe he was thought to be an enemy to many, was known to have many foes. Danby had, indeed, upon the fall of the cabal, prevailed upon the church-party, who were diſobliged by the declaration of indulgence, to reſume their old ſtation behind the throne; but the diſcovery of the popiſh plot broke the party; for, when they conſidered the avowed religion of the Duke, and that both Princes were married to Roman Catholics, their loyalty became ſuſpended in their fears for their religion. The informers of the plot, by accuſing many members of both Houſes,

deterred many more from oppoſing the will of the Duke's enemies, while they had the direction of witneſſes who ſcattered death where they pleaſed. Shafteſbury threw the firebrands of diſſenſion, which he had lighted up in the nation, into the royal family. For, to the Ducheſs of Portſmouth for her ſon, and to the Duke of Monmouth for himſelf, he alternately held up the view of a viſionary crown, in the excluſion of the Duke of York. A more real proſpect opened itſelf to the adherents of the Prince of Orange, in confuſions raiſed by others, but of which it was foreſeen the profit would probably in the end redound to him.

The Duke of Monmouth gets the command of the army againſt the rebellion in Scotland.

Shafteſbury called in the aid of war to that of party. He had long maintained a correſpondence with the diſcontented party in Scotland. He firſt taught them to exlaim againſt the tyranny to which they had ſubmitted under Lauderdale; then ſpread that cry through England; and pointing at the ſufferings of the Scots, as the forerunners of like diſtreſs to the Engliſh, raiſed pity, indignation, and terror in his countrymen. In the laſt parliament, he made a ſpeech to rouſe the Scotch to oppoſition; in which he ſaid, "That popery was intended to precede ſlavery in England, and ſlavery had been the forerunner of popery in Scotland." And forty written copies of this ſpeech were ſent off to Edinburgh the very day it was ſpoken. It was like the ſound of a trumpet to the Scots. Eight thouſand of them flew to arms: A band the more dangerous, becauſe, as no people of condition were amongſt them, greater fear was entertained of the lurking than of the open treaſon. But Charles took a generous reſolution; he truſted to nature, and ſent his ſon at the head of an army againſt a rebellion which was known to be fomented by thoſe who promoted his pretenſions to the crown. Shafteſbury then ſtarted an objection, that Engliſh troops could not be ſent

ſent into Scotland, without infringing the treaties between the two nations. Under this pretence ſeveral of the whig party declined the ſervice, among whom was Lord Grey, for whom the command of the horſe was intended, Lord Cavendiſh, and Lord Brandon: And the city petitioned the King againſt the expedition. Monmouth abuſed not the truſt that was repoſed in him. He conquered thoſe rebels for the King, with whom he might have bargained for himſelf, treating them at the ſame time with a mercy which ſecured their affections ever after; and returned triumphantly to London, to obtain the excluſion of his uncle from the tenderneſs and gratitude of his father.

Diſappointed, and ſecond parliament diſſolved.

But the glories of Monmouth were ſhort-lived. The Duke of York, who had founded the Prince of Orange, and found him provoked by the pretenſions which Monmouth had ſet up for himſelf, wrote a letter to his brother, in which he called his attention to the conſequences of Monmouth's ſchemes to both of them; urged him not to diſband his army, but to diſſolve the parliament, to regulate the expences of his court, and to puniſh Monmouth; and aſſured him, that, inſtead of having reaſon to fear the Prince of Orange, he would find in that Prince his firmeſt friend. Encouraged by this, Charles prorogued his parliament, upon the Commons ordering a bill to be brought in for diſabling the Duke to ſucceed to the crown, and ſoon after diſſolved it. In proroguing it he had the art, by pretending fear of a remonſtrance which the Houſe of Commons * was preparing againſt his miniſters, to get Sunderland, Eſſex, and Halifax to concur in the meaſure. But Shafteſbury, diſappointed and enraged, declared aloud, that he would

* Sir William Temple.

have the heads of his late aſſociates for adviſing the meaſure.

Accident which determines the condition of the two Dukes.

The prorogation of parliament, though flowing from the intelligence which the Duke had communicated with regard to the Prince of Orange, was however attended with the continuance of mortification to him; for the deſign of proroguing it was not previouſly communicated to him. The Duke therefore wrote preſſingly for leave to return home; but Charles refuſed it, and continued irreſolute whether he ſhould ſtrip Monmouth of his power. But the condition of the two Dukes was ſoon after determined by one of thoſe accidents which no wiſdom can foreſee, and on which the fates of empires often turn. The King fell ſuddenly ſick at Windſor. Eſſex, Sunderland, and Halifax, recollected the threats of Shafteſbury againſt them, for the diſmiſſion of the laſt parliament, and dreaded that theſe might be put in execution, if Monmouth, the friend of Shafteſbury, ſhould be placed upon the throne. Theſe men, with Hyde and Godolphin, conſulted together. Each concealing his private motives, all reaſoned upon the imprudence of leaving the apparent heir of the crown in a foreign country, where, in caſe of Charles's death, the perſon of a King of England might be ſeized by foreigners; and, in the end, they reſolved that the Ducheſs of Portſmouth ſhould propoſe to the King to ſend for his brother. She readily agreed, conſcious that this was not the time for the ſucceſs of her views for her ſon. Charles was pleaſed with her project: The Duke haſtened over; but, finding his brother out of danger when he ſaw him, offered inſtantly to return. The meeting affected the King, who found, that in a great kingdom he had but few friends. The weakneſs of his ſpirits added tenderneſs to his mind; He remembered the common misfortunes

tunes of their youth. The Duke of Monmouth, whilſt he was hunting in the park, heard, for the firſt time, of the return of the Duke. He haſtened back to the palace, and in an unguarded tranſport reproached the King with concealing from him the invitation he had given. Charles was ſtruck with the contraſt between the ſubmiſſion of a brother whom he had injured by baniſhment, and the preſumption of a ſon who had leagued himſelf with the enemies of the royal family. In a heat he commanded the Duke of Monmouth into that baniſhment from which he ſeemed ſo unwilling to relieve his uncle. Monmouth refuſed obedience in haughty terms, and withdrew. But, next day, the two Dukes having agreed, that, in order to prevent diſcord in the court and the nation, both ſhould retire abroad, Monmouth made a ſubmiſſion to the King, and left the court. After this, Charles inſiſted publicly with the Duke of York to continue in England. But the Duke, in excuſe, pleaded the faith plighted to Monmouth; another circumſtance which increaſed the reſpect of Charles for his brother. At laſt, it was privately reſolved between them, that, after the Duke of York had remained a ſhort time abroad, he ſhould ſend a petition to the King* to aſk leave to make his reſidence in Scotland, which ſhould be complied with: A compromiſe ſuited to the uncertain ſtate of parties at the time; becauſe it neither removed the Duke too much out of ſight, nor brought him too near it. Monmouth fixed his reſidence in Holland, where he profeſſed his attachment to the Prince of Orange, who pretended to believe it. The Duke of York returned to Bruſſels.

Exile of the Duke of Monmouth, and the Duke of York's return to Bruſſels.

In the mean time the diſtreſſes of Charles had, ever ſince the fall of Lord Danby, cauſed him to caſt many

Advances of Charles to France.

* This is confirmed, Gazette, No. 1449.

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Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Account of Montagu's attack upon Lord Danby.

London, Dec. 20, 1678.

"YOUR's of the 20th I received but laſt night, by the which I ſee you think it very ſtrange that people here do ſo puſh for the diſbanding of the army. I am of your opinion; but what will that ſignify, ſince it is ſo puſhed on by the parliament?—This day we made an end to the amendments of that bill, and to-morrow ſhall paſs it and ſend it down again to the Houſe of Commons. I believe they will not approve of our amendment, which will cauſe ſome debate between the Houſes. I believe you will be ſurpriſed to hear what Mr. Montagu has done; for being yeſterday accuſed in council of having had ſecret conferences with the Pope's Nuncio at Paris, he to revenge himſelf of that, produces letters written to him by the Lord Treaſurer by his Majeſty's command, when he was ambaſſador in France, and ſhews them to the Commons, who upon it ordered an impeachment to be drawn up againſt the Lord Treaſurer upon the matter contained in thoſe letters, and other things they had againſt him. I am confident there was never ſo abominable an action as this of Mr. Montagu's, and ſo offenſive to the King, in revealing what he was truſted with when he was employed by his Majeſty: All honeſt men abhor him for it. To-morrow I believe the impeachment will be brought up to our Houſe, then we ſhall ſee what the articles will be. I make no doubt but that the Lord Treaſurer will defend himſelf very well; I

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"YOUR's of the 20th I received but laſt night, by the which I ſee you think it very ſtrange that people here do ſo puſh for the diſbanding of the army. I am of your opinion; but what will that ſignify, ſince it is ſo puſhed on by the parliament?—This day we made an end to the amendments of that bill, and to-morrow ſhall paſs it and ſend it down again to the Houſe of Commons. I believe they will not approve of our amendment, which will cauſe ſome debate between the Houſes. I believe you will be ſurpriſed to hear what Mr. Montagu has done; for being yeſterday accuſed in council of having had ſecret conferences with the Pope's Nuncio at Paris, he to revenge himſelf of that, produces letters written to him by the Lord Treaſurer by his Majeſty's command, when he was ambaſſador in France, and ſhews them to the Commons, who upon it ordered an impeachment to be drawn up againſt the Lord Treaſurer upon the matter contained in thoſe letters, and other things they had againſt him. I am confident there was never ſo abominable an action as this of Mr. Montagu's, and ſo offenſive to the King, in revealing what he was truſted with when he was employed by his Majeſty: All honeſt men abhor him for it. To-morrow I believe the impeachment will be brought up to our Houſe, then we ſhall ſee what the articles will be. I make no doubt but that the Lord Treaſurer will defend himſelf very well; I

am ſure his Majeſty is bound to ſtand by him. You ſee at what a rate things go here: I ſee little hope of their mending. Next week is like to be a buſy week with us, though it be the Chriſtmas holidays."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of diſbanding part of the troops.

London, Jan. 10, 1678.

"AS for news, here is none conſiderable, but what I believe pleaſes you no more than it does me, which is, that there are already three of the new-raiſed regiments of horſe diſbanded; and the reſt of the new-raiſed troops will be ſo too as faſt as money can be got to pay them off. As for other things; the face of affairs looks very ill ſtill, and the ill-affected people do keep up the fears and jealouſies as much as ever, and men's minds are as unſettled as ever, and fit for any diſorder, and I very much fear we ſhall find the effects of it ſo ſoon as the troops are diſbanded; and then we ſhall not only be liable to diſorders at home, but be expoſed to attempts from abroad."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the ſame ſubject.—Anxious on his own account.

London, Jan. 17, 1678-9.

"I DID not write to you by laſt poſt, having then but little to ſay, and now all that is, is that his Majeſty declared in council this afternoon that he would put off the meeting of the parliament till the 25th of next month; for till that time he believed he ſhould not be able to have diſbanded the new-raiſed troops, or to have found out the bottom of the plot, both which he would willingly do before

werp, and designs now to have them march over land to Ostend to embark there, and is sending away orders to that purpose.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Account of Montagu's attack upon Lord Danby.

London, Dec. 20, 1678.

"YOUR's of the 20th I received but last night, by the which I see you think it very strange that people here do so push for the disbanding of the army. I am of your opinion; but what will that signify, since it is so pushed on by the parliament?—This day we made an end to the amendments of that bill, and to-morrow shall pass it and send it down again to the House of Commons. I believe they will not approve of our amendment, which will cause some debate between the Houses. I believe you will be surprised to hear what Mr. Montagu has done; for being yesterday accused in council of having had secret conferences with the Pope's Nuncio at Paris, he to revenge himself of that, produces letters written to him by the Lord Treasurer by his Majesty's command, when he was ambassador in France, and shews them to the Commons, who upon it ordered an impeachment to be drawn up against the Lord Treasurer upon the matter contained in those letters, and other things they had against him. I am confident there was never so abominable an action as this of Mr. Montagu's, and so offensive to the King, in revealing what he was trusted with when he was employed by his Majesty: All honest men abhor him for it. To-morrow I believe the impeachment will be brought up to our House, then we shall see what the articles will be. I make no doubt but that the Lord Treasurer will defend himself very well; I

am ſure his Majeſty is bound to ſtand by him. You ſee at what a rate things go here: I ſee little hope of their mending. Next week is like to be a buſy week with us, though it be the Chriſtmas holidays."

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againſt that meaſure.

He had publicly diſclaimed his marriage with Monmouth's mother; but many of the popular party, by attacking his veracity in public, linked his honour and his brother's intereſt together. The ſame party had propoſed in parliament a general aſſociation of the nation in defence of the proteſtant religion, and againſt the Duke of York's ſucceſſion: A project which brought to his mind the conſequences of the league in France, and of the ſolemn league and covenant in Scotland and England. Lord Eſſex had propoſed, in the Houſe of Lords, that ſome cautionary towns ſhould be put into the hands of parliament during Charles's life, to ſecure the excluſion of his brother after his death. Various bills had been moved for to curb the King's power, and others to puniſh his miniſters. Theſe things perſuaded him, that, though his brother was attacked, himſelf was aimed at, and that the ruin of the one would be only a prelude to that of the other. The Duke of Monmouth having ſaid, in a ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords upon the excluſion, that he muſt vote for it, becauſe he thought the King's ſafety involved in it, Charles ſaid aloud, "It is "a Judas's kiſs which he gives me." The union between the diſſenting intereſt, the popular intereſt, and the city, reminded him of his father's fate. Even the *habeas corpus* act which he had paſſed, and which a Prince, who knew the rights of mankind and his own ſecurity better, would have conſidered as a means of ſafety to himſelf as well as to his ſubjects, ſtill filled his mind with anxiety and trouble. It had been promoted by Shafteſbury, it had been obtained during the miniſtry of Eſſex, and Charles imagined it was intended to encourage revolts, by diſabling him to reſtrain the perſons of his ſubjects, and to render him unpopular, by obliging him to keep up a ſtanding force, for his own ſafety, againſt enemies who were no longer dependent upon his power. The artifice

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of employing a woman to practiſe upon his weakneſs, attached him only the more to his brother, by provoking his pride, and by giving him a diſtruſt of all who ſurrounded him. There are many of his letters to the Duke of York in the Scots college at Paris, which ſhew that he was ſteady to his brother's intereſt, becauſe he thought it his own.

When the ſtrength of the two parties, which had been forming during the interruption of parliament, was marſhalled, it was found, that, though the popular intereſt prevailed in the Houſe of Commons, the King's was ſuperior among the Lords, who, in moſt of the late conflicts, had, as uſual, ſupported the crown againſt the Houſe of Commons. The Lords, by a majority of thirty, rejected the bill. Excluſion diſappointed;

But the Commons diſgraced the ſpirit with which they had conducted the excluſion, by getting the blood of the old and innocent Lord Stafford ſhed for the popiſh plot, partly to wreak their vengeance for their diſappointment, but more to ſtrike terror into thoſe who ſhould for the future oppoſe them. The hardeſt part of his fate was to fall unprotected by his ſovereign, and a victim to his ſovereign's miſtreſs, both of whom knew that he was guiltleſs. The Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, in the rage of her diſappointment becauſe the excluſion had not ſucceeded, attended the trial, dealing ſweetmeats and ſmiles amongſt his proſecutors. Many meaſures of the Houſe of Commons and of the city followed, which diſcovered not only their diſcontents, but their intentions to controul government, and embark the reſt of the nation in their cauſe.

In order to prevent this junction of intereſts, the King ſuddenly diſſolved the parliament in January 1681. and the third parliament diſſolved.

Charles was the more emboldened to take this ſtep, becauſe he was under-hand trying meaſures for a renewal of his old connexions with Louis the XIVth. Private negotiations with France.

In the ſpring and ſummer of the year 1680, the French court, ſenſible of their imprudence in diſappointing the negotiation of the former year, made advances to Charles. He ſtood off; though with reproaches of kindneſs: "Your maſter committed two faults," ſaid he to Barillon; "the one when he forced me into the "triple alliance, the other when he forced me into an "alliance with Spain." But upon his differences with his third parliament, he liſtened to a new private treaty with Louis. The propoſals made to him were, that he ſhould have a penſion of two millions of livres for one year, and 1,500,000 livres for two more; that he ſhould withdraw himſelf from his late Spaniſh alliance, and recall his Ambaſſadors from the German and northern courts; that the Duke ſhould return; that Roman Catholics ſhould be favourably treated, and the penal laws againſt them ſuſpended; and, laſtly, THAT CHARLES SHOULD NEVER MORE CALL A PARLIAMENT; a condition which Louis had often pointed at in his former treaties with Charles, and which of all others is the moſt flattering to an Engliſh reader, becauſe it ſhows the conſciouſneſs of France, how much her own grandeur depends upon the fall of Engliſh liberty. The Duke of York, whoſe impatience was encreaſed in proportion to his diſtance from the ſcene of action, upon hearing that a negotiation was on foot, inſtantly diſpatched Churchill from Scotland to preſs it forward in his maſter's name. But the French, afraid of being diſturbed by his keenneſs, kept the treaty a ſecret from the Duke, at the very time when they were making proviſions for his intereſt in it. But Charles, conſcious that he could cloſe with France at any time upon the conditions offered; that the effect of them would be to expoſe him to inſignificancy abroad, and to quarrels at home; and though never ſufficiently ſenſible of the firſt

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of all truths to a Britiſh monarch*, that the intereſts of the King and of the people are inſeparable; yet, perhaps, feeling compunction upon the immediate proſpect of deſtroying a conſtitution of a thouſand years ſtanding, and which, had he been even a tyrant, he muſt have revered, he kept the treaty open by means of Lord St. Alban's; but in the mean time called another parliament to try, by one laſt effort, if it was poſſible to reconcile himſelf with his people, before he threw himſelf for ever into the arms of their enemies.

Charles's laſt parliament.

The place that he choſe for the meeting of a parliament, which was in all probability to determine the fate of his family and of his kingdom, was Oxford; a place as remarkable for its loyalty, as the city of London, from its wealth, and love of liberty, and even of licentiouſneſs, had ever ſince the conqueſt been remarkable for oppoſition to royal power. But the change of place could not change the humours of men. The innovation even raiſed new objects of paſſion: For the King's averſion to his capital was conſtrued into an averſion to his people: And the Whig party ſpread abroad, that they were not ſafe to aſſemble in a place ſo remote from the great ſeat of the proteſtant intereſt, and where they might be maſſacred, even by the ſoldiers of that religion in the King's guards. In order to convey this laſt inſinuation more ſtrongly through the nation, ſixteen peers petitioned the King againſt the place of aſſembly; the reſt of the popular party, either pretending fears, or really feeling them, came to Oxford, with great numbers, not of ſervants, but of friends and armed bravoes, in their trains. Hence a panic ſtruck all around the King, and the King himſelf; and he en-

* The words of his preſent Majeſty at opening one of the ſeſſions of the preſent parliament, ought never to be forgot: "I have, "I can have no intereſt ſeparate from that of my people."

tered a town occupied by gownſmen, attended with an unuſual number of guards. Shafteſbury alone, who had raiſed all theſe miſchiefs, came to Oxford in a borrowed coach, with two footmen belonging to another on the back of it.

His offers to parliament.

Charles, in this parliament, made two propoſals to his people; one was, to conſent to almoſt any limitations upon the power of a popiſh ſucceſſor, they could aſk; the other, to ſettle the government, after his death, in the Princeſs of Orange, as regent during her father's life, while the title and parade of a King ſhould remain in his perſon. He had lately communicated the laſt of theſe ſchemes at a diſtance to the Prince of Orange; but the Prince ſlighted it, perhaps becauſe it took no notice of himſelf; it was now propoſed by Sir John Ernly, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and ſupported by others of the King's ſervants. But the Prince was more afraid of the firſt of the King's offers, and wrote ſtrongly to the King's miniſters againſt it. In one of his applications on this head, he expreſſed himſelf, "That he would "conſent to any other expedient, to reconcile the King "and his parliament;" words from a perſon ſo cautious as he was, which perhaps ſufficiently explained that the expedient he pointed at was the excluſion. It is not improbable that in both of theſe propoſals Charles meant only to diſtract and divide the excluſioniſts. At leaſt it is certain that whilſt he was offering the ſcheme of limitations to parliament, he was under-hand aſſuring the Prince of Orange, that he intended to diſappoint it if accepted. And yet from the depth of his diſſimulation it is not impoſſible that he may have been ſincere in both, in order to ſecure his own quiet during his own life, leaving poſterity to take care of itſelf*.

* Vid. Append. to this chapter.

But

But whether the condeſcenſions of the King proceeded from diſtreſs or from art, they proved equally unavailing; for nothing leſs than an excluſion would ſatisfy the Houſe of Commons. Charles therefore haſtily ſtruck up with Barillon, on the 24th of March 1681, the private treaty which he had hitherto kept in ſuſpenſe, in which, to comply with his ſcruples, the original propoſals of France were ſomewhat ſoftened, and he was only obliged to diſengage himſelf from his alliance with Spain *by degrees*, and to *put himſelf in a ſtate not to be conſtrained* by parliament to counteract the engagements he was taking *. The conditions about the Duke of York and the Roman Catholics were dropped; and Barillon gave a general aſſurance that his maſter ſhould not attack Straſburg, or the low countries. Lord Hyde and Lord St. Alban's were the only perſons privy to the treaty, the terms of which were not even made known to the laſt of them. Barillon preſſed that the treaty ſhould be reduced into writing, conſcious of the advantage which the poſſeſſion of it would have given his maſter over Charles: But Charles refuſed, and it was only verbally agreed upon; a circumſtance which, as happens in all other verbal pactions, gave afterwards an opportunity to Louis to cavil upon the terms of it. Private treaty with France.

As ſoon as Charles had finiſhed the treaty, he diſſolved his parliament, with a reſolution never to call another, publiſhed an appeal to the people at large againſt the proceedings of the late parliaments, and diſmiſſed Lord Sunderland from his ſervice. This was the fourth parliament which, in the ſpace of two years, he in anger diſſolved. Parliament diſſolved.

* The words are, a ſe degager peu a peu de l'alliance avec l'Eſpagne, et a ſe mettre en etat de ne point etre conſtraint par ſon parlement, de faire quelque choſe d'oppoſé aux nouveaux engagements qu'il prenoit.

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At his brother's ſuggeſtion he then retrenched the expences of his court; prepared to withdraw the garriſon from Tangier, with the double view of ſaving money, and encreaſing his army by the addition of the garriſon; and endeavoured to gain friends among the high gentry, by the diſtribution of fifteen peerages in one year.

Such was the ſtate of things in England, at the period when the following Memoirs begin*,

* Vid. the authorities for the narrative of this chapter in the Appendix to it. The parts of that Appendix are ſo intimately connected, that it was impoſſible to break it into parts in ſeparate references in the notes.

APPENDIX

TO

CHAPTER IV. OF THE REVIEW.

Third period. From the fall of Lord Danby's miniſtry until the diſſolution of the laſt parliament of Charles the Second.

THE fall of Lord Danby's miniſtry, and the diſſolution of the parliament, which were accompanied by the proſecution of the popiſh plot and by the bill of excluſion, cauſed Charles ſpeedily to turn his eyes back to France.

The Duke of York, who ſaw that the ſtorm would firſt break upon his head, had endeavoured, even before Lord Danby was impeached, to make proviſion againſt danger with France. Barillon writes to his court on the 17th Nov. 1678, that the Duke of York complained to him that Lord Danby had adopted the ſentiments of parliament againſt popery and France to gain popularity to himſelf; and that the Duke propoſed the army ſhould be kept on foot, notwithſtanding the reſolutions of parliament to diſband it; that the parliament itſelf ſhould be diſſolved, and that to facilitate theſe ends, the union between Louis and his brother ſhould be renewed: Barillon adds, that the Duke deſired him not to let the King or Lord Danby know of his having ſuggeſted theſe things to him.

Mountague alſo, in order to gain advantage from the miſchiefs he had created, endeavoured to perſuade Barillon

rillon to bring about a reconciliation between Louis and Charles. Barillon writes to his court 5th Jan. 1678-9, that Mountague had urged him to adviſe Charles to diſmiſs his army and give up Danby, and if Charles conſented, to aſſure him of the aſſiſtance of France.

On the 5th Jan. 1678-9, Barillon writes, that upon Lord Danby's impeachment Charles preſſed Barillon to prevail with Louis to give him aſſiſtance, ſaying, that the attack upon the Catholics was only an attack upon the common cauſe of royalty. Barillon anſwered, that Charles ought to diſband his army before he could expect it;—"For that is the eſſential point."

Whatever reaſon Charles had to be ſtartled at a demand from France for diſbanding his army, he renewed the converſation a few days after with Barillon, the particulars of which are in the following diſpatch.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 9th Jan. 1679.—Charles begs the aſſiſtance of France.—Offers to ſubmit on any conditions, and to keep as few troops as Louis thinks proper.—In the Depot.

"THE King of England drew me aſide this evening, and told me that he would diſcourſe me to-morrow or after to-morrow with more leiſure; but that he charged me to aſſure your Majeſty he wiſhed nothing ſo much as your friendſhip, and to make a ſtrict union which nothing might alter; that he ſhould have an extreme joy to owe his ſafety and preſervation to you, and would not refuſe any conditions your Majeſty deſired; that he very well knew by all I had ſaid to him, that the keeping the army on foot, or any part of it, was re-

garded as a matter dangerous to the intereſts of France; that his deſign was to diſband his troops, and only keep what your Majeſty might think proper; that if you demanded other ſecurities, he would conſent to all; but it was neceſſary alſo he ſhould know if your Majeſty would give him aſſiſtance and ſupply in the extremity to which he is reduced, becauſe otherwiſe he would be obliged to take other meaſures leſs agreeable to him, but which he ſhould be under an abſolute neceſſity to do. I anſwered in general terms, and avoided entering into any detail. I believe they will ſpeak to me poſitively, and that the King of England will conſent to diſband his troops, provided your Majeſty will aſſiſt him to ſupport himſelf for ſome time. Although I am informed of your Majeſty's intentions, and that I well know I ought to avoid entering into a negociation which will end in a demand of three or four millions; I don't know how far your Majeſty will have me evade the propoſal, nor do I ſee how I can avoid its being made to me.

I alſo know by what Lord Sunderland ſaid this evening to me, that they will make a laſt effort to have your Majeſty's ſupport, and to that purpoſe will not diſagree about any conditions. I will endeavour to gain time, and to know for truth the ſtate of affairs in this country, to the end your Majeſty may give me your orders upon the conduct I am to obſerve."

On the 12th Jan. 1679, Barillon writes to his court that Charles had told him,—"That he liked better to depend upon your Majeſty than upon his people;" and that he begged a ſupply of four millions of livres.

In January 1679 he writes, that Sunderland told him he was to go Ambaſſador to France,—"to eſtabliſh a

ſtrict union between his Chriſtian Majeſty and King Charles:"—And there is in the Depot a letter from Sunderland notifying to the French court that he is ſoon to ſet out upon his embaſſy, and another ſoon after from Charles to Louis that he had ſtopped him.

Barillon writes on the 16th Feb. 1679, that Charles told him his reaſon for making Lord Sunderland his miniſter was, that he had always found him attached to the intereſts of France.

Barillon writes on the 10th Feb. 1679, that Sunderland told him, he imputed his late promotion to the ſame cauſe; and in June thereafter he writes, that upon his ſaying to Lord Sunderland that there would be a good underſtanding between the two Kings, if thoſe who wiſhed to be popular were not enemies to France, Sunderland laughed, and anſwered;—"You ſee how well Lord Danby has fared by it."

To all theſe advances the French court gave no encouragement. The reaſon of which may be gathered from the following circumſtances.

Barillon writes on the 25th Jan. 1679, that there was at preſent a ſuſpicion of a ſecret intelligence between Charles and the Prince of Orange, and of the Prince's having remitted 200,000*l.* to him: And on the 15th June, 1679, he writes that Henry Sidney is ſent Ambaſſador to the Hague, and as Barillon ſuſpects with no good intentions to France.

Barillon, on the 16th and 23d of February, 1679, writes that when he urged Charles to diſband his army, Charles anſwered that he had no money to do it with; and in other diſpatches he writes, that Charles avoided diſbanding his army, and excuſed himſelf by ſaying, he would

wo thereby have a pretence for aſking money from par ni to diſband it.

l lon on the other hand frequently writes, that the popular party in parliament were ſincere and hearty in concurring with him to get the army diſbanded.

He writes on the 27th March and 6th April, 1678, that though the Ducheſs of Portſmouth and Lord Sunderland are ſincerely in the intereſts of France, they cannot at preſent be of much uſe to thoſe intereſts, becauſe they are ſtill under the terror of being involved in the fate of Lord Danby.

On the 8th May, 1679, Barillon writes, that the power of Charles by the factions of his own dominions is entirely ſunk, that an alliance with him would therefore be of no advantage with regard to foreign affairs, and that it is better to continue to court the heads of parties in order to continue his difficulties.

It is however a piece of juſtice to French politics, miſchievous as they were at that time to England, to ſay, that there are no traces in the papers at Verſailles of any encouragement given by France to the popiſh plot, though that was the great engine made uſe of by the popular party againſt Charles.

Charles, abandoned in this manner by France, was obliged to aſſemble a new parliament, to diſband all his new-raiſed army, to ſend his brother into Flanders, and to truſt the conduct of his affairs to a council compoſed of many of thoſe who had been his moſt violent oppoſers.

From Barillon's letter to his court, May 1ſt, 1679, it appears that Barillon was at firſt enraged at the ſettlement of this council; imagining that it might have created an union of all parties in the domeſtic quiet of England and againſt France; but that the Ducheſs of Portſmouth told him, the only reaſons which had brought about the meaſure were, that the King might get money from parliament by means of it, and that ſhe and Lord Sunderland had thought themſelves in danger from the popular party. He adds, that Lord Hollis told him he had had a hand in contriving it; and that he and Mountagu aſſured him it ſhould never be turned againſt France.

Barillon writes, 16 March, 1678, to his court, that Charles had excuſed himſelf to him for ſending his brother into baniſhment, by the neceſſity of his affairs, and that he ſpoke of him with the greateſt tenderneſs. A copy of the letter from Charles to his brother, which ordered him to retire abroad, is in the Depot, as follows:

Tranſlation.

Letter from the King of England to the Duke of York, 28th February, 1679.—Orders the Duke to retire abroad.

"MY dear brother. I have already fully told you the reaſons which oblige me to ſend you from me for ſome time beyond ſea.

As I am truly ſorry for the cauſe of our ſeparation, you may alſo aſſure yourſelf, that I ſhall never wiſh your abſence to continue longer than is abſolutely neceſſary for

for your good and my ſervice. I find it however proper to let you know under my hand that I expect you will ſatisfy me in this; and that I wiſh it may be as ſoon as your conveniency will permit: You may eaſily believe that it is not without a great deal of pain I write you this, being more touched with the conſtant friendſhip you have had for me, than with any thing elſe in the world; and I alſo hope that you will do me the juſtice to believe for certain, that neither abſence, nor any thing will hinder me from being truly and with affection yours.

Superſcription. For my moſt dear friend the Duke of York."

Even after Charles had ordered his brother to withdraw, he made an attempt to ſave him from the affront of it, by ſending the biſhops of Canterbury and Wincheſter to perſuade him to return to the proteſtant religion. An account of the conference between the biſhops and the Duke, upon this occaſion, is in the Depot as follows:

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, March 6, 1679.—The Biſhops by order of the King endeavour to bring the Duke of York back to the proteſtant religion.—The conference.—In the Depot.

SIRE,

"THE Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of Wincheſter two days ago aſked a private audience of the Duke of York. They immediately ſaid that they entreated him to permit them to ſpeak to him upon a matter which might be diſagreeable to him; that the good of the ſtate, and of his Royal Highneſs's ſervice

vice in particular, obliged them to repreſent to him that the change in his religion from that of the church of England would bring on ſuch diſorders hereafter, and cauſe ſuch evils, that they found themſelves under a neceſſity to exhort him to enter into a conference upon the points which are in conteſt between the Proteſtant and Roman Catholic churches, and that they hoped to convince him how many reaſons ought to oblige him to embrace the religion he had firſt profeſſed. The Duke of York anſwered, that he took in good part what they had ſaid to him, and that he was perſuaded of their good intentions; that however he could not doubt but that there was much malignity in the deſign of thoſe who had obliged them to hold ſuch a diſcourſe to him; that it was a ſnare laid to engage him to refuſe entering into a conference which could be of no uſe; that he did not pretend to be wiſe enough to diſpute with perſons of profound capacity; but he had however taken all poſſible precautions in his change; that he had deferred it many years, and had conſulted the moſt able proteſtant Biſhops and Doctors; that at preſent his conſcience was at eaſe, and he believed himſelf to be in the right road; that nothing made it neceſſary for him to enter into a conference with them, becauſe he had no doubts in which he wanted to be cleared; that he would willingly hear them if they had any thing to ſay to him, but for his part he had no deſign to enter into a diſpute with them. There were ſome replies on both ſides. The prelates maintained that this conference would be attended with no inconveniencies, and appeared very uſeful in the preſent conjuncture. The Duke of York always perſiſted to refuſe this conference. The report had been already ſpread abroad that he was diſpoſed to change his religion, and that he was to go upon the firſt occaſion to the King of England's chapel. What paſſed

in

in this affair is regarded here by every body as a beginning which may have very dangerous conſequences to the Duke of York. He knows all the conſequences, and ſpoke to me of it as the firſt ſtep which his enemies have taken, that they may go farther lengths againſt him. He told me that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of Wincheſter had ſpoken to him as deputies from the other Biſhops who are in London, and that it was with the participation of the King of England they have propoſed this conference. This Prince does not appear ſhaken, or reſolved to deviate in any thing from the open profeſſion he makes of the Catholic religion."

It appears from Barillon's letter to his court of the 13th March, 1679, that upon receiving the order to go abroad, the Duke of York threw himſelf entirely upon France; that in apology for his late appearances againſt the intereſts of Louis, he laid the fault upon his brother; and that he told Barillon he wiſhed to take refuge in France, but was prevented againſt his will.

In King William's box there are the following letters to the Prince of Orange from the Duke of York during his ſecret exile in Flanders, which ſhew the extreme uneaſineſs of mind he was under whilſt there.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His ſurprize at the news of Sir William Temple's council.

Bruxelles, May 8, 1679.

"I SEE by your's of the 5th, which I received yeſterday, that you had not then heard of the great news of the making of a new council, and the Earl of Shafteſbury being preſident of it, which did not only ſurprize me very much, but all thoſe of this country, and more eſpecially thoſe who govern here, they not underſtanding more than I do what could prevail with his Majeſty to lay aſide ſo many of his trueſt ſervants, and put all his affairs into the hands of thoſe who for ſo many years have oppoſed and obſtructed all his affairs; for my part, I dread the conſequences of it, but ſhall be very glad to be miſtaken, and wiſh with all my heart his Majeſty may find eaſe in his affairs by what he has done; a little time will let us ſee much. I have been informed that all this great alteration was reſolved on at Lord Sunderland's, none attending his Majeſty there but the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shafteſbury. The Dutcheſs is ſaid to brag ſhe helped to perſuade his Majeſty to do it. Theſe people continue very civil to me."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the ſame ſubject.—Things tend to a republic.

Bruxells, May 11, 1679.

"I HAVE juſt now received your's of the 9th, by the which I ſee you were ſurpriſed with what has happened in England as well as I was, and you are in the right to ſay one can yet make no judgment what effect it will have, time muſt ſhew it; and to return your freedom, I fear it will not have a good effect; for by the

laſt letters I had from thence, I am informed that all thoſe of the Houſe of Commons who have now upon this new change had any preferment, have already quite loſt their credit in that Houſe, and that there are already new cabals and parties ſetting up there amongſt thoſe who have had no preferment: So that to tell you freely my thoughts, in my mind all things tend to a republic, for you ſee all things tend towards the leſſening of the King's authority, and the new model things are put into, is the very ſame it was in the time of the commonwealth; and I fear that hardly any that are now of the council have courage enough to adviſe or ſtand by any vigorous reſolution.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The excluſion bill.—His opinion of the conſequences of it.—Wiſhes the Prince to go to England.

Bruxells, May 14, 1679.

"YOU have before this had an account of what was done by the Houſe of Commons on this day ſe'nnight that concerns me; you ſee how violently my enemies attack me, and that Wedneſday laſt was the day that both Houſes were to take into conſideration my affair. What the iſſue of it will be, I expect to hear this night or to-morrow, and cannot now but look on the monarchy itſelf in great danger, as well as his Majeſty's perſon, and that not from papiſts, but from the commonwealth party, and ſome of thoſe who were lately brought into the council, that govern the Duke of Monmouth, and who make a property of him to ruin our family; and things go on ſo faſt and ſo violently, and there are ſo very few left about his Majeſty that have either will or courage to give good advice to him, that I tremble to think what will happen; for if his Majeſty and the

rillon to bring about a reconciliation between Louis and Charles. Barillon writes to his court 5th Jan. 1678-9, that Mountague had urged him to adviſe Charles to diſmiſs his army and give up Danby, and if Charles conſented, to aſſure him of the aſſiſtance of France.

On the 5th Jan. 1678-9, Barillon writes, that upon Lord Danby's impeachment Charles preſſed Barillon to prevail with Louis to give him aſſiſtance, ſaying, that the attack upon the Catholics was only an attack upon the common cauſe of royalty. Barillon anſwered, that Charles ought to diſband his army before he could expect it;—"For that is the eſſential point."

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Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 9th Jan. 1679.—Charles begs the aſſiſtance of France.—Offers to ſubmit on any conditions, and to keep as few troops as Louis thinks proper.—In the Depot.

"THE King of England drew me aſide this evening, and told me that he would diſcourſe me to-morrow or after to-morrow with more leiſure; but that he charged me to aſſure your Majeſty he wiſhed nothing ſo much as your friendſhip, and to make a ſtrict union which nothing might alter; that he ſhould have an extreme joy to owe his ſafety and preſervation to you, and would not refuſe any conditions your Majeſty deſired; that he very well knew by all I had ſaid to him, that the keeping the army on foot, or any part of it, was re-

garded as a matter dangerous to the intereſts of France; that his deſign was to diſband his troops, and only keep what your Majeſty might think proper; that if you demanded other ſecurities, he would conſent to all; but it was neceſſary alſo he ſhould know if your Majeſty would give him aſſiſtance and ſupply in the extremity to which he is reduced, becauſe otherwiſe he would be obliged to take other meaſures leſs agreeable to him, but which he ſhould be under an abſolute neceſſity to do. I anſwered in general terms, and avoided entering into any detail. I believe they will ſpeak to me poſitively, and that the King of England will conſent to diſband his troops, provided your Majeſty will aſſiſt him to ſupport himſelf for ſome time. Although I am informed of your Majeſty's intentions, and that I well know I ought to avoid entering into a negociation which will end in a demand of three or four millions; I don't know how far your Majeſty will have me evade the propoſal, nor do I ſee how I can avoid its being made to me.

I alſo know by what Lord Sunderland ſaid this evening to me, that they will make a laſt effort to have your Majeſty's ſupport, and to that purpoſe will not diſagree about any conditions. I will endeavour to gain time, and to know for truth the ſtate of affairs in this country, to the end your Majeſty may give me your orders upon the conduct I am to obſerve."

On the 12th Jan. 1679, Barillon writes to his court that Charles had told him,—"That he liked better to depend upon your Majeſty than upon his people;" and that he begged a ſupply of four millions of livres.

In January 1679 he writes, that Sunderland told him he was to go Ambaſſador to France,—"to eſtabliſh a

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Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the ſame ſubject.

Bruxells, June 26, 1679.

"I HAVE juſt now received your's of the 22d, and have now leſs hopes than ever of being ſent for; for notwithſtanding the rebellion in Scotland, which I thought might have ſerved for an argument for my being called for home, by letters I have this day received from his Majeſty by Graham, I find he does not yet think fit to ſend for me, though he gives me all the aſſurances imaginable of his deſiring it, but concludes for ſeveral reaſons (which would be too long now to write, the poſt being ready to go) that it would not be for his ſervice nor my good to ſend for me yet, ſo that to deal freely with you, I am afraid ſo long as Lord Shafteſbury and ſome others, who ſhall be nameleſs, are at the head of affairs, I am not like to be called for home."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Has aſked leave to come home.—Doubtful about his own fate.

Bruxells, July 3, 1678.

"I HAD your's of the 26th of laſt month on Friday laſt, ſince when I would not write to you till now, and do eaſily believe the trouble it is to you, that there is ſo little likelihood of my being ſent for by his Majeſty; I have again ventured to write to him upon that ſubject, and have given him my reaſons why I think it for his ſervice to ſend for me to him, and that preſently. What effect that will have I may know by the end of this week or the beginning of the next, and then ſhall know what to truſt to; for if I be not ſent for upon my laſt letters, I ſhall have little hopes to ſee England this good while,

while, and ſhall have reaſon to fear thoſe meaſures will be taken which muſt ruin our family, and with it the monarchy; for the republican party get ground every day, being backed by the preſbyterians. As for the affairs in Scotland, that rebellious crew that is up in arms will I believe be ſoon diſperſed, they having no conſiderable men amongſt them; but I think what may follow upon the Duke of Monmouth's going down thither, may be of ill conſequence.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The monarchy depends not on parliament, but on God alone.—Differs from the Prince as to parliament.

Bruxells, July 6, 1679.

"I RECEIVED this morning your's of the 4th from Houndſlardike, and by it ſee your news from England concerning Scotland agrees with mine, and believe the affairs in that country quieted by this; but I am not at all of your mind as to what concerns the meeting of the parliament, for I can hope for no good from it, but on the contrary all the ill imaginable, and not only to me but to his Majeſty and whole family, as may appear by the bill that was read in the Houſe of Commons againſt me, which was againſt law, and which deſtroys the very being of monarchy, which I thank God yet has had no dependancy on parliament, nor on nothing but God alone, nor ever can and be a monarchy; and his Majeſty will be of this mind, and never let this Houſe of Commons ſit again; if he does, he is ruined for ever.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Still in doubts about his own fate.

Bruxells, July 9, 1679.

"I EXPECT with great impatience to have an anſwer to my laſt long letter to his Majeſty; and though the wind has been contrary theſe two or three days laſt paſt, yet I hope by to-morrow night or Tueſday to hear ſomething, and if it be any thing to my ſatisfaction, I ſhall be ſure to let you know it; if it be only delays and puttings off, I ſhall ſtay to let you know it by the poſt. I believe the next letters will bring us news of the rebels in Scotland being defeated. I ſee by your's of the 7th, which I received this day, that the ſame report which was ſome time ſince at Nimeguen of my being gone into France is now come where you are. I cannot imagine how ſuch a ſtory ſhould be made, ſince there was no ground for it, nor was it ever talked on here; but there are ſo many lies made in all places, and ſworn to in England, that one ought not to wonder at any ſtories that are made: And I believe you will very ſoon ſee the Queen fallen upon with a deſign of taking her life, elſe thoſe three great villains Otes, Bedlow and Dugdal, would not have behaved themſelves ſo inſolently as they did the other day at council, when they were ſent for by his Majeſty and aſked there what they had to ſay at Sir G. Wakeman's trial againſt her Majeſty, and poſitively refuſed to do it."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Differs from the Prince as to parliament.

Bruxells, July 16, 1679.

"I RECEIVED your's of the 12th after the poſt was gone, ſo that I could not anſwer it till now, and though I may have miſtaken you, I am ſtill of opinion that this Houſe of Commons if ever they meet will fall again upon me, and never do any thing but harm to his Majeſty's affairs; and it would be a great blow to the monarchy to let them ſit again that did but offer to meddle with the ſucceſſion; and had I any power with his Majeſty, they ſhould not meet. I could ſay very much on this ſubject to lett you ſee I am in the right, but have not time, the poſt being ready to go, to ſay any more."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The King has refuſed to permit him to come home.—He is in deſpair.

Bruxells, July 19, 1679.

"IN my laſt I told you I expected every hour an anſwer to my letters I wrote by Graham; I have now had it, but no good one, for I muſt ſtill remain a baniſhed man abroad, and have no other anſwer given me, but that it is for his Majeſty's ſervice and for my own ſafety; ſo that my reaſons have not prevailed at all, nor can I ever expect to be recalled ſo long as thoſe who are now at the head of his Majeſty's affairs continue to govern; and I fear very much that the next ſeſſions of parliament, let it be when it will, will be a fatal one, not only for me, but for the very monarchy itſelf, let his Majeſty or any body elſe flatter themſelves as much as they pleaſe to the contrary."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Duke's joy at the diſſolution of the 2d parliament.—Yet anxious for himſelf.

Bruxells, July 26, 1679.

"I RECEIVED your's ſo late of the 21ſt laſt poſt, that I could not anſwer it then, ſince when I believe you have heard as well as I that his Majeſty diſſolved this parliament, and called another to meet in October. I am very glad he has done it, and think he muſt have given up his crown to them had he not done it after the inſolent behaviour of the Houſe of Commons to him. I hope it will teach the next better manners; but in caſe they ſhould follow the footſteps of that which is now broken, I hope they will be ſerved after the ſame manner. Nobody deſires more than I that there may be a good union between the King and his parliament, but I am not for their uſing him ſo inſolently as this laſt did, nor for their meddling with the ſucceſſion, nor making of Kings, with which they have nothing to do; and I am glad of this diſſolution, though it rather retards my being ſent for than advances it, for I always conſider more what is more for his Majeſty's ſervice and the good of our family than any private concern of my own. I find my enemies continue in favour as much as ever, and are at the head of affairs, and as long as that continues I have little hopes of ſeeing England."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The diſſolution of the parliament will not cauſe him to be recalled.

Bruxells, July 30, 1679.

"I HAD your's of the 25th but yeſterday, by which I find you had not then the news of a new parliament being to be in October; I ſuppoſe you had it ſoon after,

after, and you will have ſeen I am prepared for patience, not expecting to be ſent for home in haſte; and truly, I do not ſee any likelihood when it can be, ſo long as I have ſuch enemies about his Majeſty, and therefore have need of a great ſtock of patience, I acknowledge. I hope it will laſt, and you may be ſure I ſhall do nothing haſtily, I have not erred on that ſide yet. I wiſh in England ſome conſidered the good of our family ſo much as I do, and then things would go better than they do; and to ſpeak freely to you, I have but a very diſmal proſpect of our affairs in general, and I do not ſee without a miracle how they can be mended, for his Majeſty has ſo given up himſelf into the hands of his new counſellors, that I can ſee nothing but the ruin of the monarchy; and that which I think is a very bad ſign, is, that his Majeſty is not ſo ſenſible as he ſhould be of the ill condition he is in; you ſee I ſpeak very freely to you of affairs as I think they now are, and ſhall always do ſo."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The King orders him to continue abroad.

Bruxells, Aug. 10, 1679.

"I HAD yeſterday an expreſs from England, who brought me a very kind letter from his Majeſty, but tells me I muſt have patience till the meeting of the parliament, and the trial of the Lords in the Tower is over; that then he hopes things may be in ſo good a temper as to make it fit for him to ſend for me over, and till then I muſt have patience, and will do what I can to divert myſelf in the mean time."

In Lord Dartmouth's manuſcript notes upon Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory, there are the following accounts of three of the Duke of York's letters from Bruſſels:

"P. 452. By his own letters from Bruſſels, he ſeems very well ſatisfied with the civilities he received there, but ſeems very jealous of the King. In one dated the 22d of July, he writes: There is one thing troubles me very much, and puts odd thoughts into my head, it is, that all this while his Majeſty has never ſaid a word, nor gone about to make a good underſtanding between me and the Duke of Monmouth, for though it is a thing I ſhall never ſeek, yet methinks it is what his Majeſty might preſs. Think of this, and I am ſure you may draw conſequences from it, which I ſhall not mention to you, but are obvious enough to any one that conſiders."

"P. 468. I find, by the Duke's letters, he was pleaſed with the diſſolution, but not with the ſo ſpeedy calling of another (i. e. parliament), which he ſaid was only two months delay, and was giving them ſo much time to concert their meaſures better againſt their next meeting; for he had little hopes a new parliament would differ much from the laſt; but his jealouſies of the King continued; for in one he ſays, it is ſtrange his Majeſty has not written to me, neither in anſwer to what I wrote by Graham, nor now upon breaking the parliament: I am not uſed like a brother nor a friend. Preſs to have ſome mark of diſpleaſure ſhewn to Armſtrong; if that be not done I know what I am to expect."

"P. 475. The Duke writes, in a letter from Bruſſels, I ſee his Majeſty has been much miſinformed as to ſome things concerning the Duke of Monmouth, for Lord Chancellor Hyde never went about to put any jealouſies into my head of my nephew; what he did about the patent,

patent, was only what any man that underſtood the law was obliged to; and I do not remember he ever opened his mouth to me of it: And till he ſpake to me himſelf at Windſor, five or ſix years ago, of his having a mind to be general, I never took any thing ill of him, nor grew jealous of him; but after what I had ſaid to him upon that ſubject of my reaſons againſt it, and that I told him then freely he was not to expect my friendſhip if ever he pretended to it or had it. One cannot wonder if I was againſt any thing that did increaſe his power in military affairs, as his being colonel of foot guards would have done, eſpecially when I ſaw he uſed all little arts, by degrees, to compaſs his point of being general."

Charles, in the mean time, was not leſs unhappy in England than his brother was abroad.

Barillon writes, on the 23d January, 1679, that Charles ſaid he was ſo poor that he was to recall all his ambaſſadors, "from want of money."

Barillon writes, on the 18th May, 1679, that in order to take buſineſs and importance from the King, Sir William Temple's council had made a regulation that foreign miniſters ſhould not ſpeak to him without firſt aſking an audience.

Others of Barillon's diſpatches relate that Charles complained bitterly of this; and that when Barillon ſaw him, the meetings were in ſecret, and with many ſigns, on the King's part, of the fear of detection. As Charles was the beſt actor in the world, theſe things may not be true; and yet perhaps they may.

On the 18th May, 1679, Barillon writes, that the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth told him the King complained greatly of the indifference of France to his preſent ſufferings.

On

On the 6th July, 1679, Barillon writes his court a long account of a diſcourſe of Charles to him at a ſecret meeting; in which that Prince, in very abject terms, begged the protection of France from his new council and from parliament, and laid the blame of his late differences with France, upon his brother and Lord Danby. —" The end of this long diſcourſe was, to preſs me to repreſent to your Majeſty what was paſſing here, and to conjure you, on his part, to incline to put England under your dependance for ever."

Barillon writes, on the 13th July, 1679, that there had been a renewal of the converſation, on the King's part, to the ſame purpoſe.

Many of the moſt extravagant ſchemes of faction are to be found in Barillon's accounts of Engliſh affairs about this time.

He writes, on the 30th January, 1679, to his court, that Mountagu had propoſed France ſhould aid Monmouth in getting him declared Prince of Wales; that Mountagu ſaid he did ſo by orders of Monmouth, who had told him that Charles ſecretly wiſhed it, and only wanted the ſupport of France to bring it about. Barillon ſays Mountagu intends to go to Louis the XIVth to propoſe this ſcheme; and that the arguments which Mountagu uſed were, that a diſputed ſucceſſion in England would be of advantage to France; and that the ſeverities againſt Roman Catholics in England would ceaſe, if the hopes which ſome entertained of the Prince of Orange's ſucceſſion, and the fears which others formed from the proſpect of the Duke of York's ſucceſſion, were at an end.

Barillon writes, on the 13th July, 1679, to his court, that Buckingham boaſted to him that he was in no Engliſh party,

party, but only in that of Louis the XIVth; and that he inſinuated his own pretenſions to the ſucceſſion; recounting that by his mother, who was deſcended from Edward the IVth, he was himſelf a Plantagenet.

On the 14th September, 1679, and other diſpatches, Barillon writes that Buckingham adviſed him to give himſelf no trouble about the pretenders to the crown, but to court and form his connexions in the city, which Buckingham pretended was at his direction, and could command the fate of government. And afterwards, on the 28th October, 1680, Barillon writes that Buckingham boaſted to him of his vaſt power with the city and the diſſenters.

There is in the Depot a letter from Buckingham to Louis the XIVth, in November, 1678, in which he tells that Prince that the Duke of York and Lord Danby had formed a project to get him dethroned, by raiſing a rebellion in France, and gives him warning that there are certain Iriſhmen employed to aſſaſſinate him. In the ſame letter he aſks a ſupply of money from Louis.

Barillon writes, on the 20th April, 1679, that Buckingham is gone to propoſe a project to Louis the XIVth, but that he would not let him know what it was.

Profligacy in public and in private life go generally together. Barillon writes, on the 16th March, 1679, to his court, that Buckingham dares not attend the Houſe of Lords in the proſecution of Lord Danby, becauſe Danby threatened him with a proſecution for ſodomy.

During this period Charles made a feeble attempt to provide ſome ſecurity for himſelf at home, by forming two hundred of his diſbanded officers into a company of

guards, with a view to have officers ready if he ſhould afterwards raiſe troops; but in this he was checked by one of his own miniſters, the Earl of Eſſex. When Lord Eſſex was ſeized, ſome years after, on account of the Ryehouſe plot, the meſſenger reported that he found the two following letters in his cabinet. The firſt is a copy, the other an original; both are in the paper office.

Earl of Eſſex to Charles the IId.—Preſſing him to diſband his new guards.

"SINCE my coming to towne I have heard of many diſcourſes here concerning the new company of guards which your Majeſty is raiſing; thoſe who do not wiſh well to your affairs do rejoice much at it, concluding it will give great cauſe of jealouſy to your people, and prevent the good effects which your Majeſty hopes for, this next ſeſſion of parliament; and that upon this, occaſion may be taken to queſtion ſome guards now in being. 'Tis commonly ſaid this is but a foundation of a ſtanding army, whilſt a body of officers ſhall be thus kept together to head men which may be ſuddenly raiſed: That this is an eluſion of the act of diſbanding, which intended to ſeparate the officers and ſouldiers then in pay, when ſo ſoon after many of theſe officers are collected into a body again. There is nothing I do more apprehend than a miſtruſt men may have that any deſigne is on foot of governing by an army, and therefore the leaſt action which may be conſtrued to intend this, cannot at this conjuncture but be very fatal to your Majeſty. Your Majeſty has gained much upon your people by diſbanding the troops raiſed for Scotland, and I ſhould grieve extremely to ſee you loſe

loſe again that credit by framing this new conſtitution of guards. The world cannot but obſerve the great frugality your Majeſty has begun in your houſhold, and the retrenchments intended on penſions and otherwiſe; now if monies ſhall be thus ſaved all other waies, and force encreaſed, what hopes can there be of a ſupply to relieve your Majeſty's preſſing occaſions, when in ſo narrow a time as this, the charge of troops being encreaſed, men will apprehend the money which ſhall be given will be applied to the like uſes? I cannot but acquaint your Majeſty of the effect it hath in the treaſury, for we do cleerly find men much more backward to lend money than they were before. There are divers who have endeavoured to obſtruct the credit there; but 'tis certain they do it now with much more force, whilſt they have this pretence to back all they ſay. I ſpeake nothing but from a heart zealous for your ſervice, and therefore I hope your Majeſty will be pleaſed graciouſly to accept what I have ſaid, and make ſuch reflections thereon as may be moſt for your own good, which is ever the aime of your Majeſty's moſt dutifull, and moſt obedient ſubject and ſervant."

London, July 21, 1679.

Earl of Sunderland to Lord Eſſex on the ſame ſubject.

"I GAVE your Lordſhip's letter to the King. He cannot yet be perſuaded that the new guards will hurt his affairs ſo much as I believe they will. Sir William T. is now here, and will ſpeak to him of them; To will the Dutcheſſe of P. I have done it, and will again. I ſhall wait upon your Lordſhip to-night or to-morrow morning, and give you a more perfect account of this matter."

Tueſday.

the loſs he ſuffers cannot be entirely repaired but by parliament; but to bring this about, it was neceſſary his ſubjects ſhould know that he could do without them; and that then they will be more tractable, and follow a different conduct from that they have lately held. I told him, that the meetings of parliament always appeared to me very dangerous, and that it was difficult to promiſe himſelf any thing from it favourable to his intereſts; and that he would be always expoſed to ſee the parliament carry itſelf in every thing contrary to France, and perhaps force him to enter into ſuch meaſures himſelf. The King of England interrupted me upon this, and ſaid; I ſee the ſtate to which I am at preſent reduced; don't believe I will let myſelf be conſtrained to do any thing that can deprive me of the only prop which can ſupport me. The obligation I ſhall be under to the King your maſter, will retain me all my life in his intereſts, even though I did not know by experience how dangerous it would be for me to loſe his friendſhip: He muſt truſt to me and believe that nothing will be capable to make me forget what I ſhall owe to him. I will not let affairs go ſo far, as that parliament ſhall be able to compel me: And for this I will form every engagement, and give every ſecurity that can be deſired.

After this general diſcourſe, he told me he begged to be ſoon informed of your Majeſty's intentions, and that I would uſe my endeavours to get a preciſe and formal anſwer; that he was aſhamed to ſpeak to me ſo preſſingly, and to be reduced to aſk a preſent ſupply from your Majeſty without being able to offer any thing on his own part: That if your Majeſty will give him a ſupply that may be ſerviceable to him, it muſt be a ſum of four millions; that he ſhall conſider it as a gift; but that he hopes nevertheleſs to be in a condition one day of returning

returning it to your Majeſty, when his affairs ſhall be in a better way."

Barillon adds in this diſpatch, that he ſuſpects Charles will not keep faith with France after he has touched the four millions.

There are in the Depot at Verſailles many letters from Barillon concerning the adjuſting the terms of the treaty, the conduct of which was committed to the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth and Lord Sunderland. The diſpatches ſhew the intention of it was, that the Duke of York ſhould return, that the King ſhould aſſemble no parliament for three years, that neither party ſhould enter into treaties prejudicial to the other, that France ſhould not attack Flanders, and that Charles ſhould have a penſion. Lord Sunderland aſked ſix millions of livres the firſt year, and four millions the two next. The Dutcheſs of Portſmouth came down to four millions for each year. The King himſelf went lower, offering to take nine millions for the three years, provided four were paid the firſt year; and haggled hard for theſe terms. Barillon writes Oct. 2, 1679, that the Duke of York offered to lend his own money to Louis as a mark of his confidence, and to facilitate the money part of the treaty; and Barillon in his letter of 2d Nov. ſuggeſts to his court that the firſt payment ſhall be made to Charles out of his brother's money. In the middle of the treaty, Barillon propoſed inſtead of a penſion for three years, to give 500,000 crowns if Charles would engage to call no parliament before the end of March then next: Charles, enraged at this ſhifting of ground, threatened inſtantly to aſſemble his parliament and truſt himſelf to it. At laſt both parties agreed in a penſion of one million of livres per annum for three years.

In the courſe of this treaty the following expreſſions relative to it were made uſe of by the King, Lord Sunderland,

derland, the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, the Duke of York, and Barillon ſeparately.

Charles's words were:—"That your Majeſty might remain in the moſt glorious ſtate that any King has been in for many ages, and put it out of the power of England ever to hurt you." And again:—"This Prince (Charles) repeated afterwards all that he had ſo often ſaid to me, of the advantages which your Majeſty might derive from having England always dependent on you." With regard to Sunderland, Barillon ſays:—"My Lord Sunderland enlarged very much upon the advantages which your Majeſty might reap from having the King of England dependant upon you." The Dutcheſs of Portſmouth ſaid:—"If your Majeſty will give four millions a year, for three years, the King of England will enter into all the engagements your Majeſty can deſire." The Duke of York, who had come over to England in the courſe of the treaty, ſaid:—"He hopes your Majeſty will conſider, that his religion and his attachment to France are the ſources of the oppoſition which he meets with in England." Barillon ſays:—"I know by all that has been ſaid to me, that if the ſum was agreed upon, there would be no difficulty about the reſt; that is to ſay, they would give your Majeſty a carte blanche upon every thing you could deſire; and they would enter into all ſorts of engagements not to make any treaty with foreign Princes without your conſent, and even oblige themſelves to enter into all your intereſts, and to favour all your deſigns."

King Charles having communicated to his brother his intention of a treaty with France, the Duke immediately diſpatched Colonel Churchill from Bruſſels to Paris to

forward it. In the Depot there are the two following letters from the Duke to Louis the XIVth, and Monſ. de Pomponne, upon this occaſion.

Tranſlation.

Duke of York to Louis the XIVth, 4th September, 1679.— Sends Colonel Churchill to Paris to forward a treaty between Louis and Charles.—Begs the protection of France.

"THE King my brother having communicated to me what has paſſed between him and Mr. de Barillon, for renewing the union and good correſpondence that was formerly between you, I thought it neceſſary to let your Majeſty know my ſentiments upon that head; and this has obliged me to ſend the bearer, Mr. Churchill, maſter of my wardrobe, to whom you may give entire credit, to aſſure your Majeſty of the joy I had to find the King my brother in this way of thinking, as I believe there can be nothing more advantageous for both. With regard to myſelf, unleſs the treaty is concluded, and a good correſpondence eſtabliſhed before the meeting of a parliament, my affairs will be in a very bad condition. I hope your Majeſty will have the goodneſs to think of it, and forward what may be propoſed to you upon it. It is from you I expect all, and by you alone I can attain my re-eſtabliſhment in this country. In fine, the bearer will ſpeak to you more at large upon all affairs here, and make known to you that I ſhall have an eternal gratitude for all your Majeſty's goodneſs to me, and that I have all imaginable reſpect for you, being more than any one, Sir, your Majeſty's very affectionate brother, couſin, and ſervant."

Tranſlation.

The Duke of York to Monſ. de Pomponne, 4th September, 1679.—To the ſame purpoſe.

"AS I ſend the bearer, Mr. Churchill, maſter of my wardrobe, to ſpeak to the King your maſter upon the ſubject of the propoſals which have been made to Mr. Barillon, and to teſtify my joy that the King my brother is deſirous of renewing the ancient good correſpondence that heretofore was between them; I have charged him to ſpeak to you at large thereupon; and you may give entire credit to every thing he ſhall ſay on my part; therefore I ſhall ſay nothing more to you than to beg you to continue your good offices for me with the King your maſter, and to believe that I ſhall always be entirely one of your friends."

The French court believing that the treaty would go eaſier on if the Duke of York was in England, adviſed King Charles to recall his brother. In the Depot there is the following letter from the Duke of York to Louis the XIVth, thanking him for this.

Tranſlation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Louis the XIVth, 18 October, 1679.—Thanks him for having prevailed with King Charles to recall him from abroad.—Begs his protection.

SIR,

"I CANNOT expreſs to your Majeſty with what joy I received the two letters which you were pleaſed to write to me, which I had the ſatisfaction to find at my return

return to Bruſſels, as they ſhew me that your Majeſty has ſtill a kindneſs for me: I beg you to believe that I have all imaginable gratitude for it, and that I look upon the orders I have received from the King my brother, to repaſs the ſea, as the effects of thoſe which you gave to Mr. Barillon. I intend to embark to-morrow, and hope your Majeſty will continue to me your protection. From you it is that I expect to be again ſolidly ſettled near the King my brother, and ſhall uſe my endeavours to ſhew your Majeſty that I ſhall be all my life in your intereſts, and ſeek opportunities of making it appear to you, that I have all the reſpect imaginable for you, and that all my life I ſhall be, Sir, your Majeſty's very affectionate brother, couſin, and ſervant."

It appears from Barillon's letter to his court, of 9th October, 1679, that the ſecret of the intended treaty was then, and not till then, communicated to Lord Hyde. After this the treaty moves ſlowly on; the King heſitates about that part which relates to parliament; the miniſters deſire the treaty may be verbal, or at leaſt only ſigned by the King; the diſpatches deſcribe in ſtrong terms the terrors of Lord Hyde and Lord Sunderland in making themſelves parties to the treaty at all; and at length an alteration made by the French court upon one of the conditions of the treaty, afforded them an opportunity of breaking it off in the end of November, 1679. The alteration was upon that part which provided that neither Prince ſhould enter into alliances prejudicial to the other. Barillon, upon the margin of the King of France's part of this engagement, added theſe words: "That is to ſay, to make no offenſive treaty againſt his Britannic Majeſty." Charles's miniſters ſaw, and, as Barillon relates, repreſented to the French court, but in vain, that the obligation upon the King of France

was not ſo extenſive as upon the King of England; that the miniſters who ſubmitted to ſuch an inequality might loſe their heads if it was ever diſcovered; and that under the words of the alteration, the French were at liberty even to guarantee the right of fiſhing diſputed between the Engliſh and the Dutch, and thus draw England into a war with Holland, in which France would not only not be on the ſide of England, but be obliged to act againſt her.

A copy of the intended treaty, with the marginal note which was the cauſe of breaking it off, is in the Depot as follows. It will not eſcape the obſervation of the reader in peruſing it, that the French part of it was to be ſealed by the great ſeal of France, whereas the Engliſh part of it was to be ſigned by the King of England alone, without any of his miniſters, and to be ſealed by his privy ſeal.

Tranſlation.

Draught of a treaty.—France is not to attack the Low Countries.—Neither party is to make alliances without conſent of the other.—Charles is not to aſſemble a parliament for three years.—And to get a penſion of a million of livres per annum for that time.

"THE moſt Chriſtian King and the King of Great Britain having always wiſhed to preſerve a ſtrict and entire union between their perſons, ſtates, and kingdoms, of which they have given reciprocal and infallible marks in late times, their intention is now to renew the engagements they entered into a long time ago for a firm and inviolable friendſhip. To effect this, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty hath given full powers to the Sieur

Sieur Barillon, counſellor in ordinary in his council of ſtate, and his ambaſſador extraordinary in England, to agree with his Britannic Majeſty (or ſuch perſons as he may pleaſe to appoint) on conditions of a treaty. His Britannic Majeſty on his part hath conſented to ſtand bound himſelf, and to ſign the following articles:

I. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty having a ſincere and true intention to preſerve the peace which has been concluded at Nimeguen, promiſes not to attack the Low Countries that are under the dominion of Spain, nor thoſe that are under the dominion of the States General of the United Provinces, during three years.

II. His Britannic Majeſty promiſes during the ſaid term of three years not to make any treaty nor alliance with any Prince or State whatſoever, without the participation and conſent of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; and his ſaid Britannic Majeſty renounces from this time all treaties he may heretofore have made with any Prince or State which may prove inconſiſtent with the friendſhip and good intelligence he deſires to keep with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; and his ſaid Britannic Majeſty conſents that whatever may have been concluded ſhall remain null in that reſpect.

Article propoſed by the King of England.

III. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty promiſes equally not to make any treaty during the term of three years with any Prince or State whatſoever to the prejudice of his Britannic Majeſty*.

All the above has been conſented to, and agreed upon between the King of England and the ſaid Ambaſſador, and ſigned with his Britannic Majeſty's hand, who promiſes to keep and obſerve all that is contained in the preſent treaty without contravening it, and obliges himſelf

* The French Ambaſſador propoſes to add to this article the following words: That is to

ſay, not to make any offenſive league againſt his Britannic Majeſty.

ſelf to deliver the ratification of it ſealed with his privy ſeal within three weeks to be computed from this day. In like manner the ſaid Sieur Barillon, Ambaſſador from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to the King of Great Britain, has ſigned, and promiſed in the name of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to keep and obſerve all that is contained in the preſent treaty without contravening it, and to deliver the King his maſter's ratification ſealed with the great ſeal within the ſaid time of three weeks, Done at London this, &c."

Secret Article.

"I. HIS moſt Chriſtian Majeſty promiſes to pay to his Britannic Majeſty the ſum of one million of livres tournois per annum for three years, to be computed from this day, which ſum of one million ſhall be paid every year in London by four equal payments from three months to three months; upon condition always that his Britannic Majeſty ſhall not aſſemble his parliament during three years; and in caſe during the ſaid three years the parliament ſhall be aſſembled, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty may cauſe the payments that remain to ceaſe.

II. His Britannic Majeſty conſidering for many reaſons which regard only the interior of his kingdom, and which cannot be foreſeen, that he may be under the neceſſity of aſſembling his parliament within three years, reſerves to himſelf the liberty of doing it, promiſing, in caſe he finds himſelf obliged thereto, not to ſuffer any thing to be treated of to the prejudice of his alliance with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, but rather to prorogue or diſſolve the parliament, if he cannot otherwiſe prevent it; and his ſaid Britannic Majeſty conſents that his moſt Chriſtian

Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall himſelf be judge if the payments that ſhall remain to be made of a million per year ought to be continued.

The ſaid ſecret articles ſhall have the ſame force as if they were expreſsly contained in the treaty ſigned this day between his Britannic Majeſty and the Sieur de Barillon, Ambaſſador from France, and the ratification ſhall be declared in the ſame manner, and at the ſame time. Done at London, &c."

Whilſt attempts were making to adjuſt the terms of this treaty, the Duke of York had come over to England upon account of his brother's illneſs; but finding him recovered, he ſoon returned again to Bruſſels. During this viſit there are in King William's cabinet the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—He has come to England on account of his brother's illneſs.—Uncertain if he ſhall not be obliged to return.

Windſor, Sept. 6, 1679.

"I FOUND his Majeſty upon the mending hand, who received me very kindly; and now, God be thanked, he has got ſo much ſtrength that he walks into the Park. I cannot yet ſay what will become of me, having had no diſcourſe with his Majeſty; but by what I have had with ſome others, believe I may be ſent back again, becauſe they think it beſt to have me away when the parliament ſits; for my part, I am content to do what his Majeſty ſhall think beſt for his ſervice. I am very glad to find I have ſo many friends left, and that

his Majeſty has been undeceived in one thing that had been told him, which was, that there would be a rebellion, and that the city would riſe in caſe I came back; but neither of theſe have happened, and the city is very quiet, and moſt of the rich men there are pleaſed with it."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Is to return abroad again.

Windſor, Sept. 9, 1679.

"I RECEIVED laſt night your's of the 12th, and ſee by it you were ſurprized at my coming hither; I have written to you ſince my being here, and though his Majeſty will have me return back to Bruxells, which I ſhall obey, yet I am of opinion my journey hither will prove advantageous to me."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Duke of Monmouth diſgraced.—Lord Sunderland is to manage the department of the General's buſineſs.

Windſor, Sept. 12, 1679.

"I BELIEVE you will be as much ſurprized with the news you will have now, as with that of my coming for England; it is, that the Duke of Monmouth is commanded to go out of England, and his command of General taken from him, which though it may make him more popular amongſt the ill men, and ſeditious people, will quite daſh his fooliſh hopes that he ſo vainly purſued. This his Majeſty reſolved in upon its being repreſented to him, that it was not reaſonable to leave the Duke of Monmouth here, and ſend me back again into Flanders, which he thought neceſſary for his ſervice.

vice. The day for my going is not yet named, for he muſt go firſt, but I believe it will be about the end of next week; he has of himſelf given up his command of the horſe guards, deſiring the Duke of Grafton may have that command; as for the generalſhip, no body will have it more; one of the ſecretaries, which will be the Earl of Sunderland, is to manage that affair, as M. de Louvois does in France. All things are very quiet in the city and country, and will continue ſo if his Majeſty does but pleaſe."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Both Dukes are to go abroad.

Windſor, Sept. 16, 1679.

"SINCE my laſt to you I have received your's of the 19th from Hounſlardike, and by the laſt poſt gave you an account of what had paſſed concerning the Duke of Monmouth, who, as I have been informed, has not behaved himſelf as became him to his Majeſty, for he has kept very ill company at London, and not followed his Majeſty's orders in having no more to do with ſuch kind of men. Mr. Mountagu is one of his ſtate counſellors, and all the preſbyterians and diſſenting people flock to him, and endeavour to perſuade him to diſobey his Majeſty's commands, and not to go; but his Majeſty ſent for him to come hither yeſterday, intending, as I was told, to appoint a day for his going, and to give him good advice. I am informed the day is not ſet, he ſaying he had a great deal of buſineſs to do; however, ſome ſay it will be Monday or Tueſday next, and when he is gone I am to ſet out a day or two after, his Majeſty being ſtill of opinion it is for his ſervice I ſhould go beyond ſea again; and though I am not of that mind I muſt obey."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the ſame ſubject.

London, Sept. 23, 1679.

"I SEE by your's of the 26th from Hounſlardike, that you were very much ſurprized at the news I wrote you concerning the Duke of Monmouth; I do not at all wonder at it, for moſt people here were ſo too. He has uſed with his Majeſty all the perſuaſions he could to get leave to ſtay but for ſome time longer, but could not obtain it; and to-morrow he is to go. I am told he intends for Utrecht, and to ſtay there, having no mind to be far from hence: I am alſo to go away on Thurſday for Bruxells, and on Friday their Majeſties go for Newmarket, where his ſtay will not be long, at leaſt I hope ſo, for his preſence here is very neceſſary in ſuch troubleſome times as theſe."

In the mean time the proſpect of the ſucceſs of the above treaty with France had given courage to Charles: He diſmiſſed Shafteſbury from being preſident of the new council; he prorogued his parliament, and recalled his brother from abroad; yet he dared not to keep him near his perſon, but ſent him into Scotland.

Upon this occaſion there is in King William's cabinet the following letter from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—He is to go to Scotland.—Connexion between republican party in England and Holland.

London, Oct. 17, 1679.

"IN my laſt I gave you an account of my arrival here, ſince when his Majeſty has put out Lord Shafteſbury from being preſident of the council; and this day the parliament was prorogued till the 26th of January, notwithſtanding which my journey for Scotland continues, and I hope within a few days to begin my journey by land, though the ways are like to be very bad by reaſon of the great rains which have been of late, and ſtill continue. I had not time in my laſt to let you know a piece of intelligence I had, which it is fit you ſhould know; it is, that there is a private correſpondence between Lord Shafteſbury and ſome parliament men of his faction, and ſome of thoſe are called here the Loueſtin party in Holland, which I am ſure cannot be to your advantage; and had the parliament ſet now, they would have proceeded in it. I hope the little man's being out of employment here may help to break thoſe meaſures; however, you would do well to look a little after it where you are, for believe me the preſbyterians and other republicans here have as little kindneſs for you as the reſt of our family, which is all I have to ſay now, but that I ſhall ever be as kind to you as you can deſire."

It is one of the features of the Duke of York's character, that at all times, whether when he was heir to the crown, poſſeſſed it, or had loſt it, his mind was improved by misfortunes. His conduct in Scotland during

his firſt baniſhment there is known both from hiſtory and tradition to have been irreproachable. He was conſcious and vain of it himſelf, as appears from the following note of Lord Dartmouth upon Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory:

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's manuſcript notes upon Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory.

"IN a letter dated the 14th of December, the Duke ſays, "I live here as cautiouſly as I can, and am very careful to give offence to none, and to have no partialities, and preach to them laying aſide all private animoſities, and ſerving the King his own way. None ſhall have reaſon to complain of me; and though ſome of either party here (i. e. in Scotland) might have hoped I ſhould have ſhewed my partiality for them, and ſome of my friends have been of opinion it had been beſt for me to have done ſo, and by it have ſecured one ſide to me; yet I am convinced it was not fit for me to do it, it being no way good for his Majeſty's ſervice, which I can make out by many reaſons which would be too long for a letter."

Secret as the attempts to a treaty between Charles and Louis had been, they did not eſcape the vigilant eye of the Prince of Orange. He wrote his ſuſpicions to the Duke of York; but the Duke denied the treaty, as appears from the following letter in King William's cabinet from him to the Prince of Orange,

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Denies the late attempt to a French treaty.

Edinburgh, Nov. 27, 1679.

"I RECEIVED yeſterday your's of the 24th, and arrived here on Monday, and was received here as well as at the borders of this kingdom as well as I could expect, and truly I have great reaſon to be ſatisfied with my reception in this country. As for what you ſay you heard at your arrival at the Hague of a new league made between England and France, the ſame news has come here, a flying report, but not from good hands, and I do not believe it. But before this Mr. Sidney is with you, and can inform you better than I can who have been ſo long from London, and ſo little there, and ſo far from it, of what paſſes there."

The proſpect of the ſucceſs of this treaty, which was, as Charles and his miniſters expreſſed it, to have put England into a ſtate of dependence upon France, and to have relieved Louis for three years from all fears of an Engliſh parliament, had had an effect in France alſo. It produced a parſimony in the councils of that kingdom with regard to the popular party in England. Among ſeveral inſtances of this in the diſpatches, there is the following letter from Mr. Montagu to Monſ. de Pomponne, complaining of it as affecting himſelf.

Tranſlation.

Letter from Mr. Montagu to the miniſter, 26 October, 1679.—Claims the French King's promiſe for the money due to him for ruining Lord Danby.

" ALTHOUGH I know you are often importuned on my account, I cannot, Sir, diſpenſe with importuning you myſelf; I am preſſed in ſo ſtrange a manner, and have ſuch intereſted perſons to deal with, that I am in an embarraſſment, from which I cannot draw myſelf without your help. You know, Sir, there are near eight months run ſince I abſolutely fulfilled what I engaged myſelf for; and if you will be at the trouble of reading over the letters from this country between the 15th and the 25th October, 1678, you will ſee there is not the leaſt difficulty in my affair, and that the event has even gone beyond my hopes. The perſon whom the King employs here has been a witneſs of my conduct: He knows, that to perform the engagement I entered into with him for refuſing all propoſals which might be made to me, however advantageous they might be, has coſt me ſixty thouſand crowns, without reckoning what I loſt before, and have loſt within theſe ſix weeks. I am perſuaded, Sir, that I have no need to repreſent all theſe things to the King, to induce him to execute the promiſe he had the goodneſs to make me; I know how inviolable his word is; but I am perſecuted on all ſides, and if the King is not ſo good as to give orders to extricate me from the trouble I am in, I am upon the point of being reduced to the neceſſity either of loſing my credit and my reputation, or of ſelling my eſtates to diſengage the promiſes I gave upon the promiſe of the King. There is not a day but I am expoſed to perſecutions, the more diſagreeable as the people who make them have a right to do it.

The

The affair in queſtion is ſo trifling that I cannot doubt of its being ſpeedily finiſhed, if you will do me the favour to repreſent to the King what I have wrote. You have ſhewn me ſo many kindneſſes on many occaſions, that I hope you will not refuſe me your aſſiſtance in this. I aſk pardon for the trouble I give you, and the manner in which I write; but you know, Sir, the reaſons I have to act thus, and the danger I ſhould put myſelf in if I wrote this with my own hand. I am, &c."

Upon the breaking off the treaty with France in the end of November, 1679, Charles, to gain popularity to himſelf, made the moſt public advances to the Dutch and Spaniards; and in the Duke of York's abſence in Scotland, made a defenſive alliance with Spain. Louis the XIVth had, in the mean time, ſeen too late his error. Barillon, as appears by his diſpatch of 1ſt February, 1680, got leave from his court to yield the diſputed article upon the margin of the treaty, and to offer Charles a penſion of 500,000 crowns for three years. Barillon writes to his court, on the 22d February, 1680, that he delays renewing the propoſal for the treaty till the Duke ſhall come from Scotland, whom he expects ſoon. On the 14th March, 1680, he writes to his court that the Duke of York was arrived, and had complained to him that Lord Sunderland and the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth had taken advantage of his abſence to get the French alliance broken off, and the Spaniſh one formed; and that they had preſſed for the laſt of theſe meaſures in order to gain popularity to themſelves. After this, Barillon's diſpatches give an account of ſeveral attempts, made by him and the Duke of York in the ſpring and ſummer of the year 1680, to ſet propoſals on foot again for a treaty with France. Charles reſiſted them all; his

apologies, as Barillon relates them, were reproaches of kindneſs. Barillon writes to his court, 27 June, 1680, that Charles uſed the following expreſſions to him upon one of thoſe occaſions: "That the want of an alliance lay at your Majeſty's door, and if he dared to ſay ſo, it was the ſecond fault of this kind which had been committed in France; that when the triple alliance was made, he had given information of it to Mr. de Rouvigny beforehand: That I knew what he had ſaid and offered to myſelf." This was a repetition of what he had ſaid to Barillon ſome months before; for Barillon, on the 12th February, 1679, wrote that Charles ſaid: "That when the triple alliance was made, he gave warning to Monſ. Rouvigny a long time before, that he might receive orders from your Majeſty, and powers to conclude with him."

In the mean time, upon the breaking off of the treaty with France in November, 1679, Louis had given orders to Barillon to renew his intrigues with the popular party in England, and to let him know the names and characters of the chief of thoſe with whom he had connected himſelf. Barillon in anſwer writes the following detail.

Tranſlation.

Extract of Mr. Barillon's letter to Louis the XIVth.—Names and characters of individuals of the popular party who act in a ſecret correſpondence with France.—In the Depot.

SIRE, December 14, 1679.

"CONFORMABLE to the orders your Majeſty has given me, I have re-entered into a correſpondence with the perſons in parliament who I thought might be uſeful

uſeful to your ſervice hereafter. I had always kept meaſures with them to make uſe of them in time of need. I ſhall at preſent give your Majeſty the detail, as you order by your laſt diſpatch.

I have at all times taken great care to manage Lord Hollis, and I believe I have kept him in very favourable ſentiments for your Majeſty's intereſts. He is the man of all England for whom the different cabals have the moſt conſideration. He is reſpected in general by all parties, but principally by the preſbyterians. Nothing did me ſo much ſervice with him as the offer I made him on your Majeſty's part of a box with your picture ſet with diamonds. He made great acknowledgments for this mark of your Majeſty's eſteem; but he has not accepted the preſent, and I have it ſtill. I have preſſed him many times to take it; he has always excuſed himſelf, and told me that he ſhould ſerve your Majeſty with leſs ſcruple and more uſefully if he did not accept it, and that he could not reſolve to take it without the permiſſion of the King of Great Britain, being at preſent of his council. I oppoſed with very good reaſons the propoſal he made to me of telling his Britannic Majeſty that your Majeſty would make him a preſent, under the very improbable pretence of his not having received one at the expiration of his embaſſy to France. In the mean time I can aſſure your Majeſty, that in the affair of the high Treaſurer and the diſbanding of the army, no perſon was more uſeful to your Majeſty than Lord Hollis.

Although he does not often go to parliament, he is conſulted by many people, and his advice has great weight. He is very moderate upon the ſubject of the Duke of York, and declares he cannot conſent to his excluſion; but, at the ſame time, he is of opinion that the power of a catholic King of England ſhould be limited. He is apprehenſive the court will always adhere

to the deſign of governing more abſolutely than the laws of England admit, and he knows that your Majeſty alone can facilitate the ſucceſs of ſuch a deſign. Upon this account he wiſhes that the nation may not be ſtirred up againſt France; and believes it would be a great imprudence to give any cauſe of diſcontent to a Prince ſo powerful, and who can ſo eaſily hurt them. I ſometimes ſee Lord Hollis, but, not to give ſuſpicion by too frequent viſits, we have correſpondence together by the Sieur Beber; he is a man who has great credit with Lord Hollis, and who is greatly conſidered amongſt the preſbyterians; he has been very uſeful to me on many occaſions, and it is through him I have been informed in time of what paſſes in the different cabals. I have had, through the ſame perſon, a ſtrict connection with M. Lyttelton, who is one of the moſt conſiderable in the Houſe of Commons, and whoſe opinions have always been the moſt followed. I have alſo kept a particular correſpondence with Mr. Powle. He was put into the council when the perſons who oppoſed the court were put there. He has ſo conducted himſelf ſince that time, that he will always be uſeful when the parliament ſhall meet: He is a man fit to fill one of the firſt poſts in England; he is very eloquent and very able; our firſt correſpondence came through Mr. Montagu's means; but I have ſince kept it by my own, and very ſecretly.

Mr. Harbord is another of thoſe whom I have made uſe of, and who bore an active part in the affair of the Treaſurer and the diſbanding of the troops; but it would be difficult to employ him at preſent. He has conſiderable credit amongſt people in the country; he would be more fit if a miniſter was to be attacked, than he will be to ſpeak in parliament againſt an alliance which the court would make, and the other party hinder.

Theſe four have touched what was promiſed them, when the diſbanding the troops ſhould be finiſhed, and the high Treaſurer removed from affairs.

I ſend a memorial apart, by which your Majeſty will ſee what has been given for this, and ſome other expences laid out by your orders.

Mr. Sidney has been of great uſe to me on many occaſions. He is a man who was in the firſt wars, and who is naturally an enemy to the court. He has for ſome time been ſuſpected of being gained by Lord Sunderland; but he always appeared to me to have the ſame ſentiments, and not to have changed maxims. He has a great deal of credit amongſt the independants, and is alſo intimate with thoſe who are the moſt oppoſite to the court in parliament. He was elected for this preſent one *. I gave him only what your Majeſty permitted me. He would willingly have had more, and if a new gratification was given him, it would be eaſy to engage him entirely. However, he is very favourably diſpoſed to what your Majeſty may deſire; and is not willing that England and the States General ſhould make a league. He is upon bad terms with his brother, who is in Holland, and laughs at the court's making uſe of him as a negociator. I believe he is a man who would be very uſeful if the affairs of England ſhould be brought to extremities.

Since the time that an alliance has been ſpoken of between the States General and England, I have taken a great deal of care to nouriſh the diffidence which ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons in parliament have of the Prince of Orange; they are apprehenſive that his union with the court will render the government more firm, and give it more authority: But to ſay the truth, as it

* Mr. Sidney's election was found not to be good.

appears to me, I do not believe it would be poſſible to prevent the parliament from approving a league made with the States General to guarantee the peace. All that could be done afterwards (if it ſhould happen) would be to hinder the parliament from giving conſiderable ſums; I therefore do not think I ought to propoſe to your Majeſty the making any new expence at preſent, the ſucceſs of which might be very doubtful. It will be always time enough to give and promiſe new rewards to thoſe whoſe ſervices may be wiſhed for, when it is ſeen if the parliament is to be aſſembled.

If your Majeſty thinks I ought again to preſs Lord Hollis to accept the box of diamonds, I may by means of Lady Hollis make him accept it; I don't preſume ſhe will be ſo difficult as he has been. I ſhall alſo wait your Majeſty's orders for offering any thing to the others of whom I have made mention, but ſhall not make uſe of the permiſſion you may give unleſs on occaſions which I ſhall think eſſential to your ſervice.

I ought to give your Majeſty an account of what regards Mr. Montagu ſeparate from the others, being engaged as he is in your Majeſty's intereſts by particular conſiderations. I have had trouble enough to defend myſelf for theſe ſix months againſt his ſolicitations for the payment of the ſum which was promiſed him for the ruin of the high Treaſurer. He alleges that the condition is fulfilled on his part. I have always endeavoured to make him underſtand that it was an affair not entirely finiſhed, and that being fully aſſured of what had been promiſed to him, he ought not to make himſelf uneaſy whether the payment be made a little ſooner or later. He does not give way to my reaſons. The two journeys which the Sieur Falaiſeau has made to no purpoſe, would have made him reſolve to go himſelf to ſolicit the payment of the ſum he pretends a right to, if he could have left

left England at a time when affairs are in ſo great commotion, and in which he has acted ſo great a part. Your Majeſty will remember, if you pleaſe, that Mr. Montagu ſpoke to me in the month of January laſt, to try if you would favour the Duke of Monmouth's pretenſions: It was the principal motive of his journey to France when he was ſeized at Dover. Mr. Montagu knew well afterwards by the reſervedneſs with which I ſpoke to him upon that affair, that your Majeſty was not diſpoſed to ſupport ſo unjuſt a deſign, and which then appeared very chimerical. However, upon other affairs we have always had a good correſpondence, and have preſerved the greateſt union. He has often ſpoken to me of getting Lord Shafteſbury into your Majeſty's intereſts, and alleges that it would not be impoſſible if a conſiderable ſum were employed. I don't know if your Majeſty will judge it uſeful to your ſervice to endeavour at it at preſent; it would be a very proper means to ſtir up new embarraſſments to the King of England, and Lord Shafteſbury would be ſtill more bold, if he found himſelf ſecretly ſupported by your Majeſty: But it will be difficult to turn him from his engagements againſt the Duke of York, and to prevent his beſtirring himſelf for the elevation of the Duke of Monmouth, or for that of the Prince of Orange; for his deſigns are difficult enough to penetrate: And perhaps his principal end is to endeavour the eſtabliſhment of a republic, of which he would aim at being chief.

If your Majeſty will give me leave to ſay what I think ought to be done at preſent with regard to Mr. Montagu, I think you might command me to give him poſitive aſſurances of the payment of what was promiſed him, and that a certain time be named on which this payment ſhall be actually made: If after this your Majeſty will, by his means and thoſe of Mrs. Hervey his ſiſter, gain any members

members of parliament, I can anſwer that two perſons cannot be found more proper to traverſe all the deſigns of the court. It was by an intrigue of Mrs. Hervey that I cauſed to be continued at Bruſſels a certain perſon named Bulſtrode, who, as Monſ. de Louvois at that time informed me, was uſeful to your Majeſty's ſervice. It has been my principal application with thoſe whom I have at preſent mentioned, to take away from them the leaſt ſuſpicion that your Majeſty will enter into a treaty with the King of England. I have, however, taken care not to uſe poſitive words upon this, eſpecially to my Lord Hollis; I have only told him in general that your Majeſty will never enter into any engagement with his Britannic Majeſty which might be prejudicial to the liberties and privileges of the Engliſh.

I will ſay nothing to your Majeſty upon the ſubject of the Duke of Buckingham, becauſe he is not here at preſent, and your Majeſty knows of yourſelf of what uſe he may be to your ſervice. I don't doubt but he is diſſatisfied with the refuſal I gave him this ſummer of the twenty thouſand crowns, which he wanted the power of diſpoſing of; I would rather let him think that I made this ſaving of myſelf, than let him know that I did it by order. As I ſaw he had a deſign of going to France, and doubt not he has been there, I imagine, when he appears here, I ſhall find him diſpoſed to ſerve your Majeſty when occaſions ſhall preſent. It does not appear to me he has great credit in parliament, but he may be uſeful with regard to the populace, and in times of troubles. It is not the moſt regular minds which always ſtrike the moſt conſiderable ſtrokes."

As there was no parliament, and no traffic for money between Louis and Charles, in the ſummer of the year

year 1680, Barillon's diſpatches are not very intereſting during that period; yet it appears from them that the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth and Lord Sunderland had quitted the intereſt of the Duke, and were anxious to bring about a reconciliation between the parliament and the King; that the Duke was extremely averſe from this, and thought a civil war the preferable way of extricating the King from the difficulties he was under.

Barillon writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 19th Auguſt, 1680: "The Duke of York's deſign is, that things ſhould be brought to extremities, and come to an open rupture. He is perſuaded that the royal authority can be eſtabliſhed in England only by a civil war. By this he thinks to prevent the danger with which he is threatened."

Charles, however, choſe a leſs dangerous experiment, and to get ſupplies at home, ſince he got them no longer from France, aſſembled his parliament on the 21ſt of October, 1680.

Before it met he was under an extreme embarraſſment whether to ſend his brother again into Scotland. The following diſpatch gives an account of this, as well as of the ſuſpicions which the Duke of York entertained of his brother's adviſers.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, October 28, 1680.—The Duke uncertain if he is to be ſent to Scotland.—His ſuſpicion of his brother's adviſers.—The Duke begs the ſupport of France.—In the Depot.

"THE Duke of York ſent for me two days ago by Mr. Churchill; he ſaid, that I ſaw matters in a great agitation; that he did not deſpair of being able to ſave himſelf, and that the King his brother is not yet entirely determined to abandon him to his parliament; that the opinions of the council had been almoſt equally divided, and the reſolution of it as to him was to wait to ſee what parliament would do; that he did not believe that the King his brother would deliver him to his enemies, and that he ſhould always have time to retire; that Lord Sunderland and Lady Portſmouth were embarraſſed from their opinion not having been followed, and perhaps they might yet acknowledge that his departure would be unneceſſary.

This Prince then told me that he knew now how he had been betrayed. That Mr. Temple, Lord Sunderland, and Mr. Henry Sidney, had concerted with the Prince of Orange the treaty with Spain, and afterwards to bring affairs to the point they are at. That Mr. Vanleuve was come to try to make the Prince of Orange a gainer by his ruin; and that he had been cheated by all thoſe in whom he had the moſt reaſon to have confided; that I ſhould not think him ſo weak as not to have ſeen for ſome time paſt a part of what he ſees at preſent, but it was not in his power to hinder it; and that he was unwilling to give thoſe who had deceived him a pretence

to

to complain of the diffidence he might have ſhewn of them; that they would have tried to make him eaſy again by all ſorts of oaths; that he ſtill comforted himſelf upon the experience of the paſt, which ought to make his brother know, and thoſe who have his principal confidence, how unſerviceable to the Earl of Danby it had been, to make him (the Duke) go out of the kingdom, and what ſmall thanks the parliament had given him for it; that he begged me to let your Majeſty know what is paſſing; and to repreſent that your protection alone can ſave the King of Great Britain from utter ruin; that thoſe who are about him will give him up to parliament to ſave themſelves; and that the government will be entirely changed as ſoon as the parliament ſhall obtain his (the Duke's) baniſhment and excluſion. He added, that Mr. Hyde had ſpoken to the King of Great Britain with much firmneſs and vigour, to convince him that he could not abandon his brother without being ruined himſelf: That this had embarraſſed him; that others of the council had again ſpoken to his Britannic Majeſty, and he did not deſpair but they might make him ſenſible how dangerous are the councils that are given him; that notwithſtanding all this he ſhould not be ſurpriſed if the King his brother made him depart in two days."

The Duke of York judged right in his ſuſpicions of his brother's ſteadineſs, expreſſed in the end of this laſt letter; a few days after he received an order for retiring to Scotland; but this created a new embarraſſment to Charles, for the Duke fearing a perſonal attack from parliament in his abſence, inſiſted, before he went, to have a pardon for his protection.

A note in Lord Angleſea's hand-writing of the debates in council upon that ſubject is to be found in the Clarendon Papers.

The King having refuſed a pardon to the Duke, he became deſperate. Barillon had written his court on the 24th October, 1680, that the Duke refuſed to go to Scotland, that the two Secretaries of State and Lord Halifax and Lord Eſſex had intreated him in vain, and that the King was under great perplexity, becauſe it was againſt law to compel the Duke to leave the kingdom without his conſent.

Among other ſchemes of revenge, the Duke of York about this time told Barillon, that he would defend himſelf by a civil war from Scotland and Ireland. An account of this, and of the ſtate of parties in England, is to be found in the following diſpatch:

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, October 31, 1680.—*State of the court.—The Dutcheſs of Portſmouth and Lord Sunderland have given up the Duke of York.—The Duke's deſperate ſchemes of revenge.*

"THE Duke and Dutcheſs of York embarked yeſterday morning in the river for Scotland. The King of Great Britain conducted them to Leigh. I had a long converſation with the Duke of York, in which that Prince ſhewed great marks of miſery; he thinks himſelf entirely abandoned, and does not reckon upon being long in Scotland. The King his brother however gave them fine words, and told him that neceſſity alone obliged him to ſend him away: That it would have been impoſſible for him to ſupport him againſt the efforts of the Lower Houſe, and that it was much more proper to diſſolve the parliament upon any other account (as that of the biſhops) than upon an accuſation which might have been

been proſecuted againſt him; that it would not have been in his power to have prevented his going to the Tower; that he promiſed him however never to abandon him, and that he knows the conſequences.

The Duke of York believes that the Prince of Orange will come here ſoon, with a deſign to draw advantage from what may be done againſt him the Duke.

I will not repeat to your Majeſty all the Duke of York ſaid about things paſt: He entered into a detail of the firſt treaties which were made between your Majeſty and the King his brother; and complained in very vehement terms of the treatment he receives for an affair in which he had only obeyed and conformed himſelf to the will of the King of Great Britain.

He informed me that ſome of the Lords who are priſoners in the Tower had been in the ſecret of all that had been projected, and that he did not underſtand how the King his brother could chuſe to drive all the Catholics to deſpair, and perſecute them without meaſure. To this he added, in terms full of rage, that if he was puſhed to extremity, and ſaw himſelf like to be entirely ruined by his enemies, he would find means to make them repent it, and revenge himſelf of them by giving your Majeſty alſo your revenge for the conduct they had held here with regard to you; the meaning of which is, that he hopes to be able to excite troubles in Scotland and Ireland, and he even alleges he has a party in England more conſiderable than is thought of. He finiſhed his diſcourſe with great proteſtations of being eternally attached to your Majeſty, and by a very humble prayer to grant him your protection.

To all this I anſwered in terms which appeared to me the moſt ſuitable to the condition this Prince is reduced to, without entering into any thing particular.

If the Duke of York remains in Scotland, he alleges he may be able to reunite the factions which divide that country, and to put himſelf in a condition not to be oppreſſed there: It does not appear that they have any intention here to give him leiſure to do it; and I do not doubt but they will oblige him to quit it as ſoon as the parliament demands it of his Britannic Majeſty. All this appears to me to be already concerted; and it is very probable that Lord Sunderland and Lady Portſmouth are agreed with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shafteſbury. There is no doubt but the Duke of Monmouth has ſeen the King of Great Britain, and that there is a ſecret reconciliation between them. I don't ſee a perſon who is not perſuaded that the Duke of Monmouth will ſoon be replaced in all his employments: They talk of giving him the office of Lord Steward of the Houſehold, which the Duke of Ormond has. It is difficult to comprehend how the intereſt of the Prince of Orange and that of the Duke of Monmouth can agree. Mr. Montagu ſays, the Duke of Monmouth at preſent ſhews no other deſign than that of procuring the good and advantage of all the nation by the Duke of York's excluſion; but at the bottom that he will purſue his point, and hazard all rather than ſubmit willingly to the Prince of Orange. He alleges, that when he is once re-eſtabliſhed at court, he will advance his affairs, and ſucceed more eaſily by the means of parliament, and by keeping himſelf always united with thoſe who have the greateſt credit among the people.

The miniſters appear much inclined to the Prince of Orange; but it is believed they reſerve to themſelves the liberty of abandoning him if they meet with too many difficulties in making his pretenſions ſucceed; and that the King of Great Britain will in general do what he can to pleaſe his parliament. I know that this Prince

ſaid

ſaid privately to a confidant, that he was aſſured the Prince of Orange would aſſiſt him with men and money if affairs here were puſhed to extremities, and came to the point of being decided by force. I have not failed to make all this known to perſons who will make a good uſe of it.

I obſerve exactly, however, the conduct your Majeſty has preſcribed to me. I keep myſelf very reſerved with Mr. Montagu upon the ſubject of the Duke of Monmouth: I have endeavoured to make him underſtand that your Majeſty's intereſt is confined to preventing the parliament from granting money to the King of Great Britain wherewith to ſupport his alliances, but that your Majeſty could not enter into other affairs entirely ſeparate from what is at preſent in agitation; that I perceived your Majeſty was far from favouring the Prince of Orange's party, and that you even judged it very important for your ſervice to prevent him from eſtabliſhing himſelf upon the Duke of York's ruin; that in this it appeared to me the Duke of Monmouth would find a great advantage, becauſe he would have the ſame enemy with France as long as the Prince of Orange kept the ſame conduct he had done for ſome years, and which in all appearance he has no deſign to change.

I thought, Sire, I ought to ſpeak in this manner to Mr. Montagu to prevent the Duke of Monmouth from loſing altogether the hopes of having your Majeſty's protection; for this would facilitate his reconciliation with the Prince of Orange.

I ſend your Majeſty a memorial of the expence I have laid out till this time. Affairs are too confuſed, and the intereſts too oppoſite and too difficult for me to be able to take any meaſures that are certain. I have therefore thought it my duty not to employ conſiderable ſums, till I can ſee (by what ſhall be done during the firſt day of the

the ſeſſion of parliament) the turn which affairs will take. By all I can learn from different places, I judge that the King of Great Britain has reſolved to do whatever the parliament ſhall incline; but he may yet change his reſolution, for they will aſſuredly aſk things of him which will entirely annihilate the royal authority. There is one I know is agitated in the cabals, which is to demand an annual parliament, and that it ſhall ſit a ſufficient time to regulate thoſe affairs which regard the intereſt of the nation: If this were eſtabliſhed, the form of the government would be entirely changed; for though the parliament ſhould not be ſitting, they would ſtill govern by means of a council *, which would do nothing but what they believed would be afterwards approved of by parliament.

Yeſterday evening I ſaw Mr. Montagu; he did not conceal from me that the Duke of Monmouth was reconciled with Lady Portſmouth and Lord Sunderland, and that various propoſals were making for the future, and that there would be great changes at court. If it be ſo, as I do not doubt it is, the Duke of York will be entirely abandoned and excluded. I was told to-day that he will not continue at Edinburgh, but in a country houſe of the Duke of Rothes. It is eaſy to ſee this is a preparation for his not continuing in Scotland.

I know that at the breaking up of a council in which there were eleven voices for the Duke of York's not leaving the kingdom againſt ſeven who were for it, the King of Great Britain ſaid, "he muſt leave it then, ſince there are ſo many people for him."

Mr. Seymour, formerly ſpeaker, ſaid in the ſame council, that thoſe who ſo readily gave their opinions for the Duke of York's going away, would as readily

* Perhaps he means committee.

vote another time for the King to quit the kingdom, if the people would have it ſo. Mr. Godolphin replied to this; "If the Duke of York does not leave it at preſent, he will be obliged to go in a fortnight, and the King along with him." The truth is, the interior of the court, that is to ſay, thoſe who have his Britannic Majeſty's confidence, appear more keen for the Duke of York's leaving the kingdom than the moſt violent of the parliament. All this makes it believed that the King of Great Britain has not a mind to ſupport him, but to get ſome advantage to himſelf, if poſſible, by abandoning him."

The intelligence of the Duke of York's project for a civil war, was received by Louis the XIVth, as might have been expected: He inſtantly gave Barillon orders to encourage the Duke in it.

On the 8th November, 1680, Louis the XIVth writes thus to Barillon:—"If you ſee him reſolved to ſupport himſelf by means of Scotland and Ireland, you may aſſure him that in that event I will not refuſe him ſecret ſupplies."

On the 15th November, Louis the XIVth writes to Barillon thus:—"But to encourage this Prince, and to make him ſee that if he finds he has friends enough and forces enough to maintain himſelf in the place where he is, againſt all the efforts which his enemies may make to drive him from it, I will not refuſe in that caſe ſecret aids, nor the protection which my inclination leads me to give to the juſtice of his cauſe."

And Barillon's letter, of 30th December, 1680, to his court, mentions Louis's having ſent a truſty meſſenger to Scotland with an aſſurance of his ſervices to the

the Duke of York. Colonel Churchill, as will be ſeen in a diſpatch below, was the perſon whoſe cautious temper prevented theſe ſallies of the Duke from being attended with conſequences; for he informed Barillon that the Duke was not able to make a ſtand for himſelf in Scotland.

The Duke of York was the more irritated at this time, becauſe his brother had renewed his application to him to conform to the church of England. Barillon writes thus to his court, on the 14th October, 1680:—"I know it from a good quarter that the King of England preſſes the Duke of York ſtrongly to take the proteſtant teſts, and that he has declared to him it is the only means of bringing about his continuance in England, and preventing his utter ruin."

This is confirmed by the following note of Lord Dartmouth upon Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory.

One of Lord Dartmouth's notes upon Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory.

P. 517. "I have a letter of the Duke's in which are theſe words: What you hint to me in your letter, and what Lord Hallifax in his has more plainly ſaid, and has been preſt by Lord Hyde concerning my going to church, has mortified me very much, ſince I cannot do it; for indeed I ſee nothing but ruin, when ſuch meaſures are taken as produced ſuch a meſſage to me, when there was no reaſon to believe I would comply."

While Louis was endeavouring to raiſe commotions, by means of the Duke of York, in Scotland and Ireland, he was making preparations to ſow diviſions between the King and his ſubjects in England. Dreading the ſeſſion of a new parliament, he gave orders to Barillon, before it met, to tempt the King with a money treaty, on the one hand, and to intrigue with the popular party, on the other.

The ſame letter of Louis the XIVth, to wit, that of 15th November, 1680, which ordered Barillon to encourage the Duke of York to make a ſtand in Scotland, ordered him to aſſure the republican party in parliament, that he would protect the privileges of the nation.

On the 23d November, 1680, Louis writes Barillon, to encourage Charles to follow a firm and bold conduct to his ſubjects in his preſent ſituation.

On the 13th December, 1680, Louis's letter to Barillon expreſſes his ſatisfaction at the diviſions in England, and orders him to aſſure the republican party that it is not his intention to ſuffer their liberties to be hurt.

The two following diſpatches ſhow, in a ſtrong light, the diſtracted ſtate of the kingdom, and that verſatility of politics by which Louis the XIVth accommodating his conduct to the variation of circumſtances, played at that time the King and parliament againſt each other, deceiving both ſeparately, while he pretended to be a friend to both ſeparately.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 4th November, 1680.—Has got orders how to act if the King makes advances to France.—Diſtractions of England.

"THE day before yeſterday I received your Majeſty's diſpatch of the 29th October, which was brought me by an expreſs meſſenger: It inſtructs me fully in what I have to do, if the King of Great Britain takes the reſolution of having recourſe to your Majeſty, which is the only good ſtep that remains for him: This may happen every day. It does not however appear that this Prince is ſenſible as yet of the danger he is in in all its extent, and how much he ought to endeavour to get out of it; on the contrary, all that paſſes makes one judge that his intention is to ſatisfy his parliament at whatever price it may be, and to try if he can by this means obtain ſome eaſe, and re-eſtabliſh his affairs; but Sunderland and Lady Portſmouth have promiſed the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Shafteſbury, and Lord Ruſſel, that the King of Great Britain ſhall grant all that the parliament will aſk, provided they put him in a condition of ſubſiſting.

I know that there is a ſecret condition agreed on, and which makes the foundation of all the preſent conduct of both parties; to wit, that the parliament ſhall give the King of Great Britain power to name for his ſucceſſor whom he pleaſes, as was practiſed in the time of Henry the Eighth. The Duke of Monmouth flatters himſelf with being named; I don't doubt but Lady Portſmouth and Lord Sunderland have given him hopes of it. Lady Portſmouth has alſo pretenſions for her ſon. What

I write to your Majeſty will appear without doubt very extraordinary, but England has no reſemblance to other countries."

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 5th December, 1680.—His intrigues with the popular party and with the King to continue the diviſions of England.—In the Depot.

"I SEND your Majeſty, in a memorial apart, the names of the members of parliament whom I have engaged in your intereſts. The foundation of all theſe engagements is, that the parliament ſhall not enter into the alliance made with Spain, nor into thoſe which may be propoſed with the States General, the Emperor, and other Princes of the empire, nor give any money to his Britannic Majeſty to ſupport them. The greateſt part of theſe connections could not be made by myſelf; few were to be found who would directly treat with, or have any commerce with me, by which they might have expoſed their fortunes and their lives. I made uſe of Mr. Montagu and Mrs. Hervey, his ſiſter; of Mr. Harbord, Alergnoon Sidney, and the Sieur Beber, from all of whom I had already received great help in the affair of the Earl of Danby. The intereſts of thoſe with whom I am in commerce are very different and very oppoſite. Mr. Montagu would willingly be well with the court, and have a great place if it were poſſible; he would be very glad firſt to go ambaſſador extraordinary to France for ſome time. He has declared himſelf openly againſt the Duke of York, and is entered into an intimate confidence with the Duke of Monmouth; he is alſo united with Lord Ruſſel and Lord Shafteſbury. Although

Mr. Montagu has been in your Majeſty's intereſts a long time, and the ſum of which he expects the payment is alone ſufficient to prevent his taking any contrary ſtep, he wiſhes that I would enter farther into the Duke of Monmouth's affair, and the reſerve which he obſerves in me upon that head, makes him ſometimes ſuſpect that your Majeſty ſupports the Duke of York, and that you will protect him hereafter. I make him eaſy by telling him that the reſolution to ſupport ſuch a pretenſion as the Duke of Monmouth's is not lightly to be taken; that it ought to ſuffice that the Prince of Orange is his greateſt enemy, as he is alſo of France; that your Majeſty will determine according to what you think moſt proper, when the crown of England ſhall be diſputed among many pretenders; but in the interim it is not your province to meddle with the domeſtic affairs of England, except to prevent any ſteps being taken with regard to foreign ones, which may be contrary to your intereſts. That as to what regards the Duke of York, his paſt conduct frees your Majeſty from all you might have done for him, if he had perſiſted in the firſt engagements which he formed; that at preſent your Majeſty had too much prudence to charge yourſelf with the protection of a prince againſt whom all England ſeemed to be united. That with regard to the King of Great Britain, all he has done for ſome years paſt would put it out of your Majeſty's thoughts to aſſiſt him in augmenting his authority, and governing abſolutely, even though your Majeſty's true intereſt was not to maintain the government of England in the form now eſtabliſhed. All I ſaid did not perſuade Mr. Montagu, but the money I paid him by your Majeſty's order makes his mind very eaſy. I believe it will be neceſſary to make him a ſecond payment of fifty thouſand livres, for the excuſe of the bills of exchange not coming faſt enough is not ſufficient,

ficient, and in the preſent conjuncture he may be of great uſe to me in your Majeſty's affairs. Mrs. Hervey, his ſiſter, is as deep as he in all the intrigues: She is a woman of a bold and enterpriſing ſpirit, and has intereſt and connections with a great number of people of the court and parliament. It was through her I engaged Mr. Hamden and Mr. Harbord, who are two of the moſt conſiderable members of parliament.

The Sieur Algernoon Sidney is a man of great views and very high deſigns, which tend to the eſtabliſhment of a republic. He is in the party of the independants and other ſectaries; and this party were maſters during the laſt troubles: They are not at preſent very powerful in parliament, but they are ſtrong in London; and it is through the intrigues of the Sieur Algernoon Sidney that one of the two ſheriffs, named Bethel, has been elected. The Duke of Buckingham is of the ſame party, and believes himſelf at the head; he is ſo in effect as to the appearance, but at the bottom it is Doctor Owen who is the patriarch of the ſectaries, and Mr. Pen, who is the chief of the Quakers. This laſt is a man of great parts, ſon of a vice-admiral of England, and very rich: He is certainly at the head of a very great party, although he does not appear in public aſſemblies, from which his ſect are excluded. The moderating of the penal laws, with regard to them, is at preſent upon the carpet; it is the moſt important thing that can be agitated with regard to the domeſtic affairs of England, and leads to the entire deſtruction of epiſcopacy and of the Engliſh religion.

The ſervice which I may draw from Mr. Sidney does not appear, for his connections are with obſcure and concealed perſons; but he is intimate with the Sieur Jones, who is a man of the greateſt knowledge in the laws of England, and will be chancellor if the party oppoſed

poſed to the court ſhall gain the ſuperiority, and the Earl of Shafteſbury be contented with any other employment.

Mr. Harbord is the ſame whom I engaged in the affair of the high Treaſurer; he is a friend of Mr. Montagu's, but has not the ſame connections with the Duke of Monmouth; on the contrary, he appears to be in the Prince of Orange's intereſt: Through him I have engaged many perſons of great credit in parliament, and in London. He is an active vigilant man, from whom I have very good informations, and who has a great deſire to make his fortune by means of France. Mr. Montagu knows only a part of the connections which we have.

The Chevalier Beber is he through whom I have a connection with the preſbyterians. He is a rich man, and afraid of troubles; at the bottom he is attached to the Duke of York. I ſee plainly that the pains he has taken have not been uſeleſs, for the preſbyterians are entirely againſt the Prince of Orange, and I believe it will be very difficult to ſet to rights what has been done againſt him.

There are other people from whom I got ſome ſervices. The Baron de Wites is one of them. I knew him at Cologne, and he has given me pretty good advice ſince I came here; the King of Great Britain and the Duke of York put confidence in him; he appears diſcontented with the Spaniards, by whom he alleges he has been very ill treated. I would not truſt to that, but make uſe of him without confiding any thing important to him.

The Sieur Ducros, reſident from the Duke of Holſtein, gives me alſo very good intelligence; he is a great friend of Lord Cavendiſh, and has much influence upon his mind. He is author of the writing which I ſend your Majeſty. I have had it tranſlated into Engliſh to diſtribute

diſtribute copies of it. Libels of this kind are of great uſe in this country. It is the ſame Ducros, who, this ſummer, compoſed the Remarks upon the Spaniſh alliance, with which the miniſters were very angry, and wiſhed much to diſcover the author.

I have gained one of Lord Sunderland's clerks, named le Pin, who ſometimes gives me good information. I keep always a connection with the Duke of Buckingham; he has been very ill, but is at preſent better. If affairs grow worſe, as it may very well happen, he will have a great deal of credit in London; he will make a greater figure than is imagined; he has been once at the upper houſe; he is an enemy to the Duke of Monmouth, and is thereby in ſome meaſure for the Duke of York.

My principal care and my firſt application has been to engage perſons of credit in parliament to hinder the alliances being approved, and the granting of money to ſupport them. This is the preſent intereſt of your Majeſty; but with regard to the future, I ſee what your Majeſty has moſt at heart is to prevent England from being re-united by an accommodation between his Britannic Majeſty and his parliament.

Your Majeſty has grounds for thinking that the Duke of Monmouth's elevation might contribute much to that union. Upon this account I have ſought for all means of traverſing and throwing back his pretenſions, without expoſing myſelf to be ſuſpected of favouring the Duke of York. He was informed two days ago by Mr. Herbert that a courier was come expreſs from the Prince of Orange to offer his help to his Britannic Majeſty, and every thing in his power in caſe affairs ſhould be embroiled here. This is the foundation of the report that the States General offer to enter into all his Britannic Majeſty's intereſts: This offer is ſufficiently ſpread in parliament,

parliament, and produces a bad effect for them. I thought it my duty to take this opportunity again to embolden his Britannic Majeſty in caſe he is capable of taking a good reſolution; and to remove the doubt he has that your Majeſty will be backward to aſſiſt him, if he was too ſtrictly united with the Prince of Orange. For this purpoſe, I charged my Lord St. Alban's to tell him that the ſincere deſire your Majeſty had for the preſervation of his Britannic Majeſty would not be impeded by the conſideration of the Prince of Orange's intereſts; and that your Majeſty will conſent that the meaſures to be taken between you and his Britannic Majeſty ſhall not be contrary to the intentions of the Prince of Orange: In a word, that the union of the royal houſe of England ſhall not be oppoſed by your Majeſty; and that if there are any expedients which can enable his Britannic Majeſty to ſubſiſt himſelf without entirely ſubmitting to his ſubjects, that your Majeſty will facilitate them on your part as much as may be in your power. I particularly charged Lord St. Alban's to point out to the King of Great Britain the regard your Majeſty had for his intereſts in preference to all the reaſons which you might have to oppoſe the Prince of Orange's greatneſs: Lord St. Alban's told me, that the King of Great Britain had received this overture with a great deal of joy, and that he had ordered him to thank me; but this Prince has not yet opened himſelf upon the concluſion of a treaty, from whence it appears that he is not yet determined to diſſolve his parliament.

I thought, Sire, that this advance which I have made to his Britannic Majeſty could not but produce a good effect. Your Majeſty gave me orders to favour the Prince of Orange's pretenſions rather than thoſe of the Duke of Monmouth; I could not do it in parliament without diſcrediting myſelf entirely, and loſing the fruits of

of all the connections I have made there; but your Majeſty's intentions will have their effect, if the Prince of Orange ſinks the balance in his Britannic Majeſty's mind againſt the Duke of Monmouth.

After your Majeſty's commands upon this head, I ſhall not permit myſelf any more to reflect how the Duke of Monmouth's elevation would be the occaſion of troubles, for a long time, in England, between two families pretending to the crown. I ſhall confine myſelf to what your Majeſty preſcribes me, and will loſe no occaſion to thwart the Duke of Monmouth's pretenſions whenever I can do it with ſucceſs. I acknowledge your Majeſty ought to prevent his ſerving for an inſtrument of a re-union, and eſtabliſhing in his perſon ſo weak a monarchy, as at the bottom to be only a republic. I ſhall direct my conduct on this ground; however I believe it is prudent not to let any thing appear of ſuch an intention, and always to let this cabal flatter itſelf, that your Majeſty is more diſpoſed to favour the Duke of Monmouth than the Prince of Orange."

Some of the foregoing French diſpatches ſhew a belief in the French court at this time of the probability of the Duke of Monmouth's ſucceſs in his pretenſions, and their fear leſt this ſucceſs might prove the inſtrument of reſtoring harmony between the King and the popular party in parliament. To prevent this, Barillon received the ſtrange inſtructions mentioned in his laſt letter for bringing about a junction of the French and the Prince of Orange's intereſts in defence of the royal family of England. But the Prince of Orange was too wiſe to expect favours from Louis the XIVth; he truſted to the good ſenſe of the Engliſh, that if they excluded the Duke of York from the ſucceſſion on the principle of his being a papiſt, they muſt admit his daughters to it on

that of their being proteſtants; he knew his own perſonal intereſt in England, and even in the King's court, to be great; for Barillon writes on the 4th Nov. 1680, that Godolphin, and alſo Sunderland, notwithſtanding his pretended friendſhip with the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, were entirely in his intereſts. He probably knew too the private ſentiments of Charles with regard to the irregular ambition of his ſon; for Barillon relates in his diſpatch of 21 Nov. 1680, that Monmouth having ſaid in his ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords upon the excluſion, that he would vote for it becauſe he thought the King's ſafety involved in it; Charles, who was preſent, ſaid aloud: "It is a Judas kiſs which he gives me." Preſuming on all theſe circumſtances, the Prince of Orange got the famous Dutch and Spaniſh memorials ſent over, which preſſed the King to conſent to the excluſion of his brother.

In the mean time, Charles was liſtening, though without precipitation, to the advances made by Barillon through means of Lord St. Alban's for a new money treaty between the two Kings. The intentions of the French with regard to the terms of the treaty were originally, that Charles ſhould withdraw himſelf from the late Spaniſh alliance, and recal his Ambaſſadors from the German and northern courts; that the Duke ſhould return; that the Roman Catholics ſhould be favourably treated, and the penal laws againſt them ſuſpended; that Charles ſhould never more call a parliament; and that in conſideration of theſe things he ſhould have a penſion for three years. But the impatience of the Duke of York in his exile could not brook a delay; for as ſoon as he heard a treaty was thought of, he diſpatched Churchill to London to preſs it forward.

His

His impatience in Scotland, his ſending off Churchill, and the inſtructions which Barillon got relative to the terms of the intended treaty, appear in the two following diſpatches.

Tranſlation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, written from Edinburgh, 1680, without date.—This letter is before that of the 23d December from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Complains of the uſage he has met with.—Anxious to return to England.—In the Depot.

"I RECEIVED your letter with a great deal of ſatisfaction, becauſe you give me freſh aſſurances of the King your maſter's goodneſs to me; I will endeavour to deſerve the continuance of it, whereof I beg you to aſſure him.

With regard to this country, the nobility and perſons of quality are by intereſt attached to royalty, and they are the maſters here: As to England, you are upon the ſpot, and know what paſſes there as well as myſelf; if I was to return to the King my brother, I might hope to pave the way for as good a correſpondence as ever between him and the King your maſter; but as long as I ſhall be abſent, it will be difficult to do; for you ſee by the tricks they have played me, that I cannot confide either in Lady Portſmouth or Lord Sunderland; and as for thoſe who have or may have the King my brother's confidence, unleſs I am there, they will never lend a hand to what we wiſh."

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 3d February, 1681.—Churchill is come from Scotland to promote a treaty with France.—Barillon conceals from him that it is begun.—Barillon's inſtructions with regard to the treaty.

"THE Sieur Churchill has been all this while in Scotland with the Duke of York: He arrived here the day before yeſterday, and brought me a billet from the Duke; a copy of which I ſend your Majeſty. What he ſays ſhews a great deſire on the Duke of York's part to be able to return to the King his brother; but it does not appear to me that affairs are yet diſpoſed for it here; therefore I did not think it time to execute the order your Majeſty gave me, to aſk the Duke of York's return; I have only told Mr. Churchill that your Majeſty wiſhed it, and that you had ordered me to employ myſelf in it when I ſhould believe it poſſible to be brought about.

Mr. Churchill ſaid, that the Duke of York believed he ſhould find a negociation begun here for the re-eſtabliſhment of a ſtrict alliance between your Majeſty and the King of England; and that the principal cauſe of his journey was to preſs his Britannic Majeſty to conclude a treaty with your Majeſty; that I ſaw he preſſed me by his billet not to loſe any time in acting and making propoſals which might lead to a concluſion, becauſe the Duke of York was informed that the greateſt efforts were making to hinder the King of England from taking any meaſures with your Majeſty; and on the contrary, for making him take meaſures very oppoſite to your intereſts; That it was deſigned that the Prince

of

of Orange ſhould come over, with a view that he might become the maſter of affairs, and be eſtabliſhed now in a manner which could not be changed hereafter.

I did not open myſelf to Mr. Churchill upon the power I have to conclude a treaty, nor upon what had paſſed by means of Lord St. Alban's; I only told him that your Majeſty was in very favourable diſpoſitions for re-eſtabliſhing a good intelligence with his Britannic Majeſty, and that your Majeſty's principal conſideration was the preſervation of the Duke of York, and your deſire to ſupport him in the ſucceſſion to the throne. That I ſhould not loſe any opportunity of letting the King of England know how much your Majeſty believes the preſerving the Duke of York is important to the preſervation of the royal authority in England; that I ſhall ſoon have orders from your Majeſty upon all that paſſes here, and I ſhould then bend all my cares to cauſe a negociation to ſucceed on which I well ſaw the ſafety of the Duke of York depended. Mr. Churchill frankly owned that this Prince was not in a condition to maintain himſelf in Scotland, if the King his brother did not ſupport him there. They have burnt the houſe of the provoſt of Edinburgh; he is the firſt magiſtrate of the city, and has the ſame functions with the mayor of London. It is believed that the ſtudents who burnt the pope in effigy, ſet fire, during the night, to the provoſt's houſe, which is but a mile from Edinburgh.

After having read over again with attention your Majeſty's laſt diſpatch, it appears to me that the conditions upon which you explain yourſelf, will not ſtop the concluſion of a treaty, and on the contrary may much forward it. Your Majeſty only aſks, with regard to the treaty with Spain, an aſſurance to withdraw from it by degrees; this cannot be refuſed when the King of England ſhall incline to renew his connection with your Majeſty.

Majeſty. Neither is the recalling of the miniſters from all the courts of Germany and the north a circumſtance which can break off the treaty; and it will be eaſy for his Britannic Majeſty to recall them under pretence of œconomy; beſides, in the condition in which the affairs of England are, few Princes will prefs to make alliances with his Britannic Majeſty.

The condition of the Duke of York's return is alſo a thing that ſhould be managed with time, and I do not imagine that your Majeſty will preſcribe it as an eſſential condition which muſt be executed without delay, any more than the favourable treatment of the Catholics, and the ſuſpenſion of the penal laws on their account; theſe are rather neceſſary conſequences of a good intelligence with your Majeſty, than conditions to be inſiſted on, and which might break the concluſion of an alliance. There remains only one difficulty, which is that of putting off for ever the ſitting of parliament. I know very well it is a ſecurity your Majeſty has reaſon to demand; but you promiſed me, in the year 1679, to conſent that the parliament ſhould aſſemble when the King of England believed it neceſſary for his own intereſts, provided that then the ſubſidies ſhould ceaſe: Perhaps the King of England may be inclined to keep the parliament aſſembled ſome days at Oxford, and may ſtill try for means to ſatisfy it, by offering the limitations which he has already offered in caſe the Duke of York ſhall come to the crown.

The Earl of St. Alban's told me, that if the King of England had made a treaty with your Majeſty, or if he was aſſured of concluding one, he would obſerve a very different conduct with regard to parliament, and would be much more in a condition to maintain his authority, and not let himſelf be tempted by the propoſals which might be made him; it is neceſſary I ſhould be fully inſtructed in your Majeſty's intentions upon this.

I keep

I keep up the connections I have with many members of parliament; I have seen the principal, who all appear much animated against the court, and very angry that the parliament is summoned to meet out of London: They are not without apprehension that the King of England may have troops around Oxford, and thereby render their meeting less free: They talk of coming there sufficiently well accompanied not to apprehend an insult. This is a proposal which has been made amongst them; if it is executed, it will be in some measure taking up arms on both sides; what appears to me the best symptom for the King of England at present, is, that the city of London is quiet enough, and the richest merchants are afraid of troubles."

Charles kept this treaty in suspense from December until the 26th of March, probably provoked by the exorbitancy of some of the terms demanded of him, and in hopes that the two parliaments which sat in that interval might have furnished him with supplies to relieve his necessities. But the impatience of the Duke of York increased in proportion to his distance from the scene of action, and the importance of his own interest, as appears from the two following letters.

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, 1681, *without date, received the 1st of March.—Presses him extremely to get a treaty concluded.—In the Depot.*

"THE gentleman you informed me was on the road to come here is not yet arrived; but nevertheless I believe it is in your power to put matters to rights at

preſent in the place where you are, if you will only ſpeak to the King my brother, and make the propoſal to him; it is time now or never to conclude this bargain, for otherwiſe the King of England will be obliged to put himſelf into the hands of parliament and of the Prince of Orange; it will then be too late, and the Duke of York infallibly ruined. I know that ſome perſons who have been in the King of England's confidence have taken great pains to perſuade him that he could not reckon upon the friendſhip of the King your maſter, and that if he was preſſed, he would find that he would not be ſincerely nor truly his friend: I know well that this was ſaid formerly to the King of England, and that the ſame thing may again be ſaid to him; it is therefore your part to aſſure him of the contrary; ſo that there is no time to loſe in this affair, for if it is not begun at preſent, and while Churchill is in London, I fear ſome difficulty may yet occur; but I hope you will have made ſome progreſs in it before his return. You may be ſure the Duke of York will do his duty to preſs the King of England, for if it is not concluded now, and without loſs of time, the Duke of York is loſt: Conſider this, and remember that heretofore when difficulties were made, I always foretold what would happen, and you have ſeen that I was not miſtaken; but at preſent I aſſure you and affirm, that if time is loſt, all is loſt; for this reaſon I conjure you to do all in your power to end this affair. Let the King your maſter know, that if he has any goodneſs or conſideration for the Duke of York, it is time to ſhew it. His Majeſty knows to what a degree he is ſenſible of the favours done him, and I can anſwer that he will uſe all his efforts to deſerve it. I could make uſe of ſome other reaſons to engage you to do what preſſes at preſent; but that is not neceſſary, ſince you know all mine, and are touched with them. It

will

will be an action altogether glorious for the King to re-eſtabliſh the King of England (for thus it muſt be ſpoken of), and to ſave the poor Catholics, who otherwiſe will be ruined without reſource."

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, 1681, without date, received the 16th March, with Mr. Barillon's diſpatch of the 10th.—In the Depot.

"I AM very glad of the aſſurances you give me of the continuation of the King your maſter's goodneſs towards me; this has obliged me (my affairs preſſing much) to write to him, and diſpatch an expreſs with the letter, for if he will not now ſhew his friendſhip, and hearken to the propoſals I have made him, my affairs will be between this and a little time in a very bad condition, and the monarchy entirely ruined. What I have propoſed to him is, that he will ſet on foot again a treaty with the King of England much upon the ſame plan as that which was once ſo near being concluded; I moreover wiſh that you will recommend this affair as much as you can, for without that I cannot hope to be recalled by the King of England; and if that cannot be obtained, I muſt infallibly be ruined. But this I hope the King your maſter will not willingly ſee, and you know the conſequences, which would be to eſtabliſh a republic in England. I dare not dwell upon this matter ſo much as would be neceſſary: you underſtand me enough to know what I mean."

In the mean time Charles had been trying to ſoften his two parliaments, firſt by an offer of limitations upon the powers of a popiſh ſucceſſor, and next by a ſcheme for ſettling the government, during the Duke's life, upon

the Princeſs of Orange, as regent. The Houſe of Commons rejected both, and not only refuſed money for the ſupport of government, but prohibited private perſons to lend it to the King. Charles, upon this, haſtily ſtruck up a treaty with France on the 24th March, 1681 (Barillon's letter of that date, in the Depot), and a few days after diſſolved his parliament, with a reſolution never to call another.

This is the private treaty, of date 1ſt April, 1681, which Mr. Hume firſt produced to the world, from the ſame ſource at Verſailles from which I have drawn ſo many others. Barillon's account of the treaty contains, as Mr. Hume juſtly ſtates it, three things; that Charles ſhould diſengage himſelf by degrees from the Spaniſh alliance; ſhould take meaſures to prevent parliaments from counteracting his engagement; and ſhould receive a penſion of two millions for one year, and 500,000 crowns for two others from France. Barillon had ſtruggled hard that the treaty ſhould be put into writing, and ſigned by the two Princes, for which he gave this reaſon to his court in his letter of 3d March, 1681:—"It alſo appears to me that this Prince would not dare to make a treaty public in which he has engaged himſelf not to aſſemble a parliament; this would be a very dangerous thing for his perſon, and entirely contrary to the laws of England." But Charles refuſed, and it was only verbally agreed upon. No one, except Lord Hyde, was privy to the conditions; for theſe were concealed even from Lord St. Alban's, though he knew of the treaty. Barillon writes, on the 14th April, 1681, that the King deſired it ſhould be kept ſecret from the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, aſſigning this courtly reaſon for doing ſo, that if the treaty ſhould ever tranſpire, and ſhe be blamed for it, ſhe might have it in her power to aſſert with a ſafe conſcience her innocence.

The

The French account of the treaty, copied by Mr. Hume, contains ſome general expreſſions of Barillon, which implied that France was not to attack the Low Countries or Straſburg; but as the treaty was only verbal, this part of it, and even that which related to the *quantum* of the penſion, came, as all verbal pactions do, at an after-period, to be the ſubject of diſpute.

Notwithſtanding the various declarations which Charles made to parliament of his readineſs to conſent to the ſcheme of limitations, he (who of all men was certainly the moſt inſincere) gave aſſurances underhand to the Prince of Orange, that it was not his intention to conſent to it; it is probable, therefore, that he propoſed it only with a view to divide the excluſioniſts. The Prince of Orange ſeems to have been ſenſible of this, and therefore, even after he was informed of the King's intentions to diſappoint the ſcheme, he ſtill inſiſted that it ſhould not be permitted to be moved in at all. In one of his applications on this head, he expreſſed himſelf, that he would conſent to any other expedient to reconcile the King and parliament; words, from a perſon ſo cautious as he was, which perhaps explained ſufficiently that the expedient he pointed at was the excluſion.

On theſe heads there are in the Paper-office the following letters from the Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins, during the laſt great heats about the excluſion.

Tranſlation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Upon Lord Shafteſbury's preſenting the Duke of York as a popiſh recuſant.

Honſlaerdike, 26 July, 1680.

"ALTHOUGH Lord Shafteſbury's ſally does not appear to me to be of great conſequence, that does not prevent its having made a great noiſe in this country, as well as every where elſe, and has given people bad impreſſions, as if there were ſtill more troubles to be dreaded in England. I hope that time will open their eyes, although at preſent the bad intentions of Lord Shafteſbury have had their effect in giving this bad impreſſion, which is certainly hurtful to the King, and to the tranquillity of Europe. We are quiet here, although the King of France's journey gives us a little uneaſineſs. Time will ſhow us what we have to fear; in the mean time I am always entirely yours."

Tranſlation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Upon the approaching meeting of the third parliament of King Charles.

Honſlaerdike, 13 Sept. 1680.

"ALTHOUGH we are glad here that the parliament will be ſo ſoon aſſembled, we are in an extreme apprehenſion for its ſucceſs; if it is not ſuch as we hope for, I do not ſee any reſource for the affairs of Europe, which will be in a lamentable ſtate. God grant that the King and his parliament may agree, without which all is loſt. This will be the laſt I ſhall write you from this place, having an intention to ſet off on Monday next to ſee

ſee the Duke of Zell, who has often aſked me. I believe I ſhall be five or ſix weeks in my journey, and perhaps I ſhall ſee the Elector of Brandenburgh. If I can aſſiſt the Chevaliers Southwell and Sylvius, you may be aſſured I will not fail; but I am afraid that no German Prince will incline to declare himſelf before our treaty is finiſhed with the Emperor. In fine, I will neglect nothing that depends upon me to ſerve the common cauſe, and above all the King. At my return I will let you know what has paſſed in my journey; in the mean time I beg you will believe me to be always yours."

Tranſlation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins, upon the heats in the beginning of the third parliament.

Hague, 12th November, 1680.

"I RETURNED here laſt night, and this morning I have received two of your letters at once of the 26th and 29th old ſtile. I thank you for letting me know what is paſſing in parliament, and beg you will ſtill continue to do ſo. I am extremely ſorry to learn that the ſeſſion begins with ſo much heat and paſſion. May God make people wiſe and moderate; for ſurely on this meeting of parliament depends the good or ill fortune of all Europe. I have ſo many things to do to-day, which is the firſt day of my arrival, and the poſt being juſt going, I cannot ſay any thing more now, than that I am always entirely yours."

Tranſlation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—On the heats of the excluſion.

Hague, 22d Nov. 1680.

"I AM much obliged to you for continuing to inform me of what paſſes in England, but I am vexed to learn with what animoſity they proceed againſt the Duke. God bleſs him, and grant that the King and his parliament may agree, without which I foreſee infallibly an imminent danger for the King, the royal family, and the greateſt part of Europe. All affairs here are, as every where elſe, in ſuſpenſe to ſee the iſſue of this great ſeſſion. May the Divine goodneſs end it for his own glory, the good and ſatisfaction of the King, of his royal family, and of the good party in Europe. I am and always will be without reſerve entirely yours."

Tranſlation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Againſt King Charles's offer of limitations upon a popiſh ſucceſſor.

Hague, December 10, 1680.

"YOU know how I have always wiſhed a good intelligence between the King and his parliament; and that I wiſhed to have been able to contribute to it. You will therefore eaſily judge in what trouble and chagrin I am, to ſee that ſo great a bleſſing is not as yet according to my wiſhes. I muſt alſo own to you that I was much ſurprized to learn of mitigations of the royal authority being ſpoken of in caſe the crown ſhould fall to a papiſt. I hope that his Majeſty will not incline to ſuffer a thing to be done ſo prejudicial to all the royal family:

family: And although they ſpread about that this will not take place except with regard to a King of that religion, and would be of no conſequence to Kings of the Proteſtant religion, it muſt not be imagined, that if they had once taken away from the crown ſuch conſiderable prerogatives as are talked of, that they would ever return again. Therefore I intreat you to repreſent this in my name to the King; and to beg of his Majeſty on my part, that he will not conſent to a thing ſo prejudicial to all thoſe who have the honour to be of his family. This, as a matter of conſcience, I am obliged to ſay.

I intreat you to let me know what anſwer you get."

Tranſlation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—The King has promiſed not to conſent to the ſcheme of limitations.—The Prince hints he will agree to any other expedient.

Hague, December 27, 1680.

"THE contrary wind for ſome days paſt prevented me from receiving till yeſterday your's of the $\frac{17}{7}$. The aſſurance which you give me on the King's part, that the King will not conſent to the limitations of the royal authority, comforts me much. But I am only afraid that by indirect means they may come at a thing ſo ruinous to monarchy.

With regard to all ſorts of expedients, except thoſe, I ſhould have a very ſenſible joy if they could be found out, to reunite the King and his parliament. You know the intereſt which all Europe has in this matter, and particularly me. God grant that theſe expedients be ſoon found, and that this ſeſſion may be happily ended in a good union, without which we are all loſt. If limita-

tions continue to be ſpoke of, I entreat you upon all neceſſary occaſions, to repreſent on my part to the King, the aſſurances he gave me of his not conſenting to a thing ſo prejudicial to all the royal family, and which would draw after it the ruin of the monarchy.

Tranſlation.

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Preſſes the parliament ſhall not be diſſolved.

Hague, 28 January, 1681.

"EVERY body here was ſurprized with the prorogation of the parliament, though they can very well underſtand that the King was forced to it in ſome manner by their vehement proceedings. But I cannot ſufficiently expreſs to you the great fear we are in of a longer prorogation or a diſſolution. What will be the effects of it in the kingdom you can judge better than me, although here we have reaſon to fear they will be very fatal to the affairs of Chriſtendom. I hold theſe affairs to be entirely ruined, and abandoned to thoſe who have any intention to make themſelves maſter of them: And if people perſuade themſelves that when a new parliament is called it will not have the ſame ſentiments, that is a thing which cannot enter into my mind; the experience of the paſt has ſhewn clearly enough, that inſtead of being more moderate they have always puſhed things a greater length. I think myſelf obliged in conſcience to write you my ſentiments ſo frankly, hoping his Majeſty will not take it ill that I repreſent to him a matter on which, in my opinion, depends the preſervation of all Chriſtendom, of his perſon, and of his kingdoms. The intereſt which the ſtate, and above all I have in it, is not little, ſo that it is not ſtrange that I am in an extraordinary uneaſineſs

easiness how the day after to-morrow will pass, which is the time when the parliament is to meet; seeing that is a day that may save or ruin us entirely. May God have pity on so many poor people, and bless the resolutions of the King with more prosperity than they have hitherto had.

I entreat you to represent all this to the King, and to give me an answer."

Translation.

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—His vexation at the dissolution of parliament.—Curious to hear a new proposal which the King is to make him.

Hague, 11th February, 1681.

"IF I had not been upon a journey to Amsterdam, I would have sooner answered the letters which you wrote me by the King's orders. I will not tell you in what manner, nor with what surprise the news of the dissolution of the parliament was received here, since you will be fully informed of it before this time, and that you could judge of it by my former letters. People are much in doubt here if the parliament will meet at Oxford at the time fixed; and if it does meet, they are persuaded that it will have the same sentiments, since the members will be mostly the same men. With regard to the proposal which you intimate to me, and which cannot displease me, I confess that I cannot comprehend what it can be; and if you can make me know it, you will oblige him who will be always yours."

The proposal mentioned in this last letter was, to make the Princess of Orange regent during her father's life.

Barillon writes his court, on the 14th April, 1681, that this was a project of Lord Halifax and Lord Arlington.

Inſincerity and ſteadineſs ſeldom go together. Charles, in the courſe of theſe ſtruggles with parliament, ſtained his memory for ever by giving up to the vengeance of party the old and innocent Lord Stafford. It is a very falſe idea in political ſcience, to permit a diſtinction between the Prince and the man in matters of feeling. The Duke of York, with all his faults, thought more juſtly than his brother on this ſubject.

In Lord Dartmouth's notes on biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory, there is the following paſſage:

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's notes on Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory.

P. 492. The Duke, in one of his letters, ſays, "I was informed by Fielding of Lord Stafford's being condemned, which ſurprized me, though I knew the malice of ſome againſt him, and the government would make them preſs it to the utmoſt: And beſides all other conſiderations am very ſorry that his Majeſty will be ſo hard put to it; for I hope he will remember the continual trouble it was to the King his father, the having conſented to the death of the Earl of Strafford, and not have ſuch a burthen on his conſcience; and on the other hand, I know he will be hard preſt to ſign the warrant againſt this unfortunate Lord."

I was particularly anxious, in peruſing the French diſpatches, to diſcover the principles upon which Algernon Sidney could poſſibly reconcile to his own pride, his intrigues with France. From the following paſſage in one of Barillon's diſpatches, it appears that Mr. Sidney's public objects in theſe intrigues were a republic, and the moſt unlimited toleration in religion.

Tranſlation.

Extract of Mr. Barillon's letter to Louis the XIVth, Sept. 30, 1680.—The principles on which Algernon Sidney acted.—A republic and unlimited toleration.—In the Depot.

"THERE are ſome who have applied themſelves for ſome time to make me underſtand that it is an old error to believe that it is againſt the intereſt of France to ſuffer England to become a republic; they endeavour to prove by good reaſons and the example of the paſt, that the reunion of England, under a proteſtant King, authoriſed as the Prince of Orange would be, is much leſs conformable to the true intereſt of France than a republic, which would be more occupied with trade than any other thing, and would believe, as Cromwell did, that it ſhould gain rather at the expence of Spain than of France: They add, that the intereſt of England as a republic, and that of Holland governed as it is, could not eaſily agree; whereas the Prince of Orange can reunite in his perſon the power of the States General and of England together. In fine, they eſtabliſh for a fundamental principle that the houſe of Stuart and that of Orange are inſeparably united; that their common intereſt engages them to augment their power in England and in Holland, and that it is the intereſt of France to maintain the liberties and privileges of both nations, and to endeavour rather at the ruin of thoſe who would oppreſs them: They even believe that the ſafety of the Catholic religion might be eſtabliſhed in England, if people were not afraid that a Catholic Prince would be in a condition to change the government and laws; and they obſerve by the example of Holland, how much the condition of the Catholics in Holland is better than in

England. Your Majeſty knows better than any body what ſolidity there is in theſe reflections, and can give me your orders for my conduct in the occaſions which may preſent. I ſhall confine myſelf to what appears to me to be for your ſervice at preſent, without carrying my views further; but it does not appear uſeleſs to ſhew your Majeſty how far affairs may be carried in England. Mr. Sidney is one of thoſe who talks to me with the moſt force and the moſt openneſs on this matter."

Although in the ambaſſadors diſpatches ſeveral accounts of money laid out by them in political ſervices in England between the years 1677 and 1681 are mentioned, yet I found in the *Depot* only three of them.

The firſt is Monſieur Courtin's account, mentioned in a former Appendix, and is dated 15th May, 1677. The ſecond is referred to in Barillon's letter of 14th December, 1679, contained in a former Appendix; and is of that date. The laſt is referred in his letter of December 5th, 1680, contained in a former Appendix; and is of that date.

It has been ſeen above that the French money laid out in political purpoſes when Courtin was ambaſſador, was diſtributed by Charles. For this reaſon Courtin's account of what was laid out by himſelf is very low, conſiſting only of the following articles:

	Guineas.
Lord Barker	1000
Chevalier Herbert	600
Chevalier Min	600
Doctor Carey	500
Coleman	300
Green	200
Denzie	20

The

The perſon here called Lord Barker was Lord Berkſhire, becauſe in other parts of the diſpatches he is ſaid to have been of the Howard family, and a "grand haranguer" in parliament.

The next account runs as follows:

Tranſlation.

State of the money employed by Mr. Barillon, ambaſſador from Louis the XIVth in England, ſince the 22d December, 1678.

"BY the memorial which I ſent to court the 22d December, 1678, I had remaining in bills of exchange and ready money the ſum of 21,915*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* ſterling, which makes in French money 292211*l.*

Since the ſaid 22d December to this day the 14th December, 1679, I have given, to wit, to the Duke of Buckingham 1000 guineas, which makes 1087*l.* ten ſhillings ſterling.

To Mr. Sidney 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* ſterling.

For the ſupport of the Sieur Bulſtrode in his employment at Bruſſels 400 guineas, which makes 435*l.* ſterling.

To the Sieur Beber 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* ſterling.

To the Sieur Lyttelton 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* ſterling.

To the Sieur Powle 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* ſterling.

To the Sieur Harbord 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* ſterling.

Total of the expence made to this day, 14th December, 1679, 4241*l.* 5*s.* ſterling, which makes in French money 56550*l.*

The

The 22d December, 1678, I had remaining 219151. 16s. 7d. sterling, which makes in French money 2922111.

Since the said 22d December I have given 42411. 5s. which makes in French money 565501.

Thus I have remaining this 14th December, 1679, only the sum of 17664l. 11s. 7d. sterling, which makes in French money 245661l. of which sum I have in ready money 2674l. 11s. 7d. sterling, which makes in French money 35661l. The remainder, which is 15,000l. sterling, or 200,000 livres French money, is in bills of exchange which have not been negotiated."

The last account consists of the following articles:

	Guineas.
William Harbord. Barillon describes him thus: "Who contributed greatly to the ruin of Lord Danby,"	500
Mr. Hampden,	500
Colonel Titus,	500
Hermstrand: This must have been Sir Thomas Armstrong, because when Barillon gives afterwards an account of Armstrong's execution for the Rye-house plot, he calls him Chevalier Thomas Hermstrand,	500
Bennet. Barillon describes him to have been formerly secretary to Prince Rupert, and now to Lord Shaftesbury,	300
Hodam. This must have been Hotham, for Barillon describes him, "Son of the Chevalier Hotham who was governor of Hull,"	300
Hicdal,	300
Garoway,	300
Francland,	300

Compton,

	Guineas.
Compton, — — —	300
Harlie. This muſt have been Sir Edward Harley, becauſe Barillon deſcribes him, "Formerly governor of Dunkirk,"	300
Sacheverel, — — —	300
Foley, — — —	300
Bide. He deſcribes him thus: "Very rich and in great credit," — —	300
Algernon Sidney, — —	500
Herbert, — — —	500
Baber. This muſt have been the famous Sir John Baber. Barillon deſcribes him thus: "Who is not in this parliament, but who has many connections in the Lower Houſe, and who formed my connection with Lord Hollis," — — —	500
Hil. Barillon ſays he was formerly one of Cromwell's officers, — —	500
Boſcawen, — — —	500
Du Croſs. This was the de Croſs, envoy from the Duke of Holſtein, mentioned by Sir William Temple, — —	150
Le Pin. Barillon calls him one of Lord Sunderland's clerks, — —	150

The names of almoſt all the above perſons are to be found in the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, as active perſons at that time.

Barillon could not poſſibly chuſe a fitter perſon to intrigue with the diſſenting intereſt than Sir John Baber; for Charles had formerly employed him in the very ſame way. Mr. North in his Examen, p. 361, gives an account of this as follows:

"Sir John Baber was a man of fineſſe, and in poſſeſſion of the protectorſhip at court of the diſſenting teachers,

teachers, and after the pattern of the cardinals, for nations at Rome."

"The King finding the Diſſenters, inſtigated by their teachers, ever active in all ways of oppoſition to him and his intereſts, thought it the cheapeſt way to take off (as they called it) thoſe bull-weathers the teachers, and accordingly employed people to treat with them; and terms were adjuſted that they ſhould keep their party generally quiet, and that they might not oppoſe his Majeſties affairs in parliament; and for that conſideration, conventicles ſhould be connived at, and good annual penſions paid to them; ſo the ſtipulation was made, and the penſions ſettled and duely paid. The plenipos, in this ſtate negociation, were Sir John Baber, one well known for a buſy body in ſuch tricking affairs; and ſome ſaid Sir R. Buller, who was a famous tool of the papiſts afterwards: But the former made no ſcruple to declare all this to his acquaintance, of whom I had the honour to be one: And he was a witneſs how honeſtly the King dealt on his part; paying the penſions as they became due."

With regard to Dr. Owen, whom Barillon, in one of the above letters, calls the patriarch of the independents, ſee Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes, p. 555 to 564. He died at Ealing, 1683, and ſixty-ſeven coaches attended his funeral.

In Barillon's letters there are ſeveral relations of money ſought by Buckingham and Montagu, and ſometimes given, but oftener refuſed to them. So far as I could diſcover in the papers at Verſailles, Montagu did not receive more than 50,000 of the 100,000 crowns promiſed him for ruining Lord Danby.

While the private treaty, which was afterwards fruſtrated, was going on in the year 1679, Barillon, in his letter of 21 September, 1679, propoſed that preſents

ſhould be given to the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth and Lord Sunderland; and in his letter of the 26th October, he propoſes to give them a penſion.

On the 30th November, 1679, Barillon writes that the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth and Lord Sunderland hinted that they expected gratifications from France.

On the 1ſt and 15th January, 1680, Louis the XIVth, in his letters to Barillon, ordered him to offer 10,000 piſtoles to Sunderland, and 5000 to the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, with a promiſe of a renewal of theſe preſents, if they would keep Charles in the intereſts of France.

Barillon writes on the 1ſt and 21ſt January, 1680, that the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth had ſaid to him that Sunderland could not be ſecured to France without a great deal of money.

Barillon writes, on the 19th February, 1680: "Lord Sunderland and the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth have received with a very good grace the offers of gratification which I made them hope for." Probably theſe offers did not take effect, becauſe the treaty which they were intended to bring about broke off.

On the 21ſt April, Barillon writes that Lord St. Albans had expreſſed his expectation of receiving a preſent for the ſervices he had done, in giving a beginning to the private treaty of the year 1681, and Barillon propoſes to give him 1000 or 1500*l.* And from Barillon's letter, of 2d May, 1681, it appears that he had received orders from Louis the XIVth to give him the diamond box, in value 1500*l.* which had been formerly refuſed by Lord Hollis, who died before it could be again offered to him.

Several of the letters mention gratuities of a few hundred pounds, given at different times, to Montagu's ſiſter, Madame Harvey, and to a few others of Montagu's friends.

This profligacy extended itſelf. Bariſſon writes, on the 4th April, 1680, that Charles was on a project of making a proteſtant league with the Dutch and Swiſs againſt France; that Mr. Herbert (whoſe wife he ſays was couſin german to Lady Sunderland) was to go ambaſſador to conduct it in Swiſſerland; but that Herbert had offered for 5000*l.* to ſerve the intereſts of France in his embaſſy.

Lord Keeper North, who was of opinion that the fiction of the Popiſh plot did not ariſe from the accident of Tongue's and Oates's informations, but from a preconcerted deſign, gives the following reaſons in his manuſcript for that opinion:

Extract from Lord Keeper North's manuſcript memorandum.

"1ſt. The parliament was to meet the beginning of October, and the diſcovery was in the middle of Auguſt, time enough to blazon it abroad to irritate the minds of men, but not to do any thing for the trial.

2d. Dr. Tong (the firſt mover) would not have it expoſed ſo much as to the council before the parliament met, but ſaid it was fitter for the parliament: And when it was objected that Papiſts might kill the King in the mean time, he ſaid, care ſhould be taken, for that they ſhould be watched ſo narrowly they ſhould not be able to do it.

3. There was but one witneſs before the parliament met, which is not ſufficient in treaſons, ſo the council could not order a trial, though they might commit, except in caſe of Coleman, whoſe letters were produced under his own hand.

4th. No Lord or perſon of quality, but only inferior people and prieſts, were named before the parliament met, that

that the court might not be ſtartled, but might engage in the proſecution of thoſe deſpicable people, for whom no man would have regret, but they might be bountifully thanked for it by the Houſe of Commons.

5th. To make the miniſters of ſtate leſs ſuſpicious and more eaſy, they were courted, not only in the applications of the diſcoverers, but in the diſcovery, *viz.* that the Papiſts intended to kill the King, Duke of Lauderdale, Duke of Ormond, &c. which made the Earl of Danby not only give way to the proſecution of it, but to preſs the belief of it in all places and to all perſons; and the Duke of York was not only acquitted of all deſign, but was to be killed himſelf if he did not comply.

In the month of September it (the plot) had its full courſe, and ſo much countenance at Whitehall, that a great many thought it a court ſtratagem to pretend fears and dangers to keep up the army that had been raiſed, and was by act of parliament to be diſbanded before 26th Auguſt.

And within a little time, by the murder and expoſing the body of Sir Ed. Bury Godfrey in the middle of October, the violence and rage of the people was grown to that height againſt the Papiſts, that no reaſon could be heard, but every fooliſh ſtory againſt them paſſed for goſpel; and when all force ſeemed bent againſt the Papiſts, it was reported Sir Ed. Bury Godfrey was ſeen laſt at Somerſet-houſe, and by others at Arundale-houſe (the Duke of Norfolk's); it was alſo whiſpered that he was ſeen at the Cockpit (the Earl's of Danby's), and threatened by the Earl of Danby.

It was cunningly done to ſpread theſe reports, that it might be known what theſe perſons could ſay in defence of themſelves, and that they might be ready (eſpecially the Cockpit and Arundale-houſe) to toſs the fire from one to the other. It was wondered at that the Lord Treaſurer

ſurer was ſo ſoon glanced at, who had been ſo earneſt to follow the diſcovery. But afterward he was found to be forward in it to carry it to the parliament for fear he ſhould be ſtruck at directly, and it ſhould find belief. It is certain the Church of England men joined in this cry as heartily as any elſe; for they were always moſt eager againſt Popery, although they had friendſhip with the Cavalier Papiſts, and many conſidering men ſeeing an army kept up againſt an act of parliament were really zealous that fetters might be put upon the king, and therefore would join in ſhewing any diſcontent.

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Extract Fifth.

"The moſt loyal pretence that ever was thought of was that of the King's ſafety: Who could be ſure of that but ſuch as had him in poſſeſſion? which directly tends to his deſtruction."

Extract Sixth.

"The republicans applied themſelves to all methods of ſedition, and were ſo open in it that they had public councils for carrying it on, as the King's Head club in Fleet-ſtreet was (though I doubt not but they had cabals of a more dark and dangerous nature), and many coffee-houſes both in city and country where they vented news and libels, and proceeded with that ſucceſs, that in 24 hours they could entirely poſſeſs the city with what reports they pleaſed, and in leſs than a week ſpread it all over the kingdom.

They could give out that any man who was averſe to them was a Papiſt: And when the King did any thing pleaſing to the people, they would diſcredit it before it could be known; and could put what colour they pleaſed upon foreign affairs, which they did by the help of foreign miniſters. They had correſpondents in all parts of the kingdom of the moſt active and greateſt credit, ſo that when any members of parliament were to be choſen, they could diſgrace every loyal perſon, and recommend whom they pleaſed; and they were moſt induſtrious in parliament time, when by having divers members in their councils, and thoſe who were not members being always near the bars poſſeſſing the world with news they had fitted for the time, and arguing the queſtions that were in debate in the Houſe, and taking care that all the members ſhould be minded to repair to their ſeats before the queſtion ſhould be put.

By

By theſe means they influenced elections not only in the country, but upon diſputes in the Houſe. And they came to that boldneſs, that when this parliament could not be prevailed upon to paſs an act of Comprehenſion, or to undermine the crown, they poſſeſſed the people that it was time to diſſolve them, that the minds of the people were changed ſince their choice, and that they were a grievance; and were about to have grand juries to repreſent it to the judges at the aſſizes; but that was not ventured for fear when the parliament ſat it ſhould be puniſhed. But upon a prorogation of more than a twelvemonth, they attempted to have the parliament declare themſelves diſſolved; but the members would not drive that nail into their own fleſh, which ſet the game a little back.

I thought it wonderful that when theſe things were viſible, the Houſe ſhould ſuffer ſuch a combination of men to ſit openly, who made it their buſineſs not only to traduce the King's government but even their actions: and I concluded that when they were ſo negligent of their own frontiers, and did not preſerve their credit by deſtroying theſe enemies of it, they could not be long laſting, and ſo it happened. For they (that is, the major part of them) joined in thwarting the King in every thing he deſigned, and in laying obloquies upon his government to that degree that it was not to be borne; and at laſt procured their diſſolution to their great ſurprize, who thought the King would never have made ſo bold a ſtep, and to the great joy of the King's Head club, who fell to work with all diligence to model the next Houſe of Commons by their correſpondencies in the country."

Extract Seventh.

"That incredible fictions ſhould ever paſs in courts of juſtice, without the courts making juſt obſervations

upon them, was extraordinary: But care was taken to terrify the judges with ſhouts and acclamations on the one part, and hiſſings on the other, by which they were to be perſuaded, not only of the ſenſe of the people, but of their violent deſires, whereby they might imagine dangers to themſelves if they ſhould appear to check the ſtream."

Extract Eighth.

"Tradeſmen, if ſuch are not conſiderable, they are not worth notice; but if one be he who hath great power by the many that live under him, and having grown in riches by outwitting other men, and arrived at the government of the place, as mayor, alderman, &c. the faction may eaſily perſuade him that the world is beſt governed that way, which makes him a commonwealthsman: When they have their ends, and raiſed a force, they may fright him into any thing; for know that he is the moſt inſolent fool and cowardly knave that is in nature."

PART I.

BOOK I.

Diſpoſitions of the People upon the Diſſolution of the Parliament.——Proſecutions.——The Duke's Adminiſtration in Scotland.——Viſit of the Prince of Orange.——King's diſtreſs in Foreign Politics.——Intrigue of the Duke's Return from Scotland.——The Duke's Situation.——Monmouth's Progreſs through the Weſtern Counties.——The King's Invaſion of the Charters.——Conſpiracy.——Characters of the Conſpirators, and their Objects.——Meaſures concerted.——Inferior Conſpiracy for Aſſaſſination.——Diſappointed by an Accident.——Shafteſbury's Retreat and Flight.——Conſpiracy delayed.——Renewed.——Diſcovered.——Death of Lord Eſſex.——Lord Ruſſel's Trial.——His parting with his Family and Lord Cavendiſh.——Other Anecdotes of his laſt Hours.——Sidney's Trial.——Anecdotes of his laſt Hours.——Other Trials and Puniſhments.——The King's Fluctuation about Monmouth.——Great Power of the King and Duke.——Mean Dependence of both on France.——Project for a Popiſh Army in Ireland.——Scotland modelled.——Intrigues of Sunderland againſt the Duke.——The King's Death.

PART I. BOOK I. 1681.

I INTEND to give a relation of the affairs of Great Britain and Ireland, from the time when Charles the Second, by ceaſing to govern by Parliaments, made the breach between him and the friends of liberty irreparable, until the ſea-battle off La Hogue, which, by defeating James's hopes of recovering his crown, determined the ſucceſs of the Revolution; a period, during which the laws were laid almoſt in ruins, in conſequence of thoſe very efforts which were made to preſerve them; yet recovered all their honours, and eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of freedom, which, after the ſtruggles of ſix hundred years, was not rendered compleat, until that great aera of Britiſh liberty.

This period is full of events great in themſelves, and of all others the moſt intereſting to Britons. It exhibits the inſidious attempts of one Prince to deſtroy liberty, with the deſperate boldneſs of the meaneſt of his ſubjects to take vengeance upon him for it, and the more generous ſtruggles of a few of the greateſt of them, puniſhed by an application of thoſe laws which they meant to vindicate; the violent attempts of another againſt the rights of his people, defeated by his dethronement in the midſt of his proſperity; and the eſtabliſhment of a third Prince, who, though ſhaken by factions, and betrayed by falſe friendſhips, yet ſtill generouſly protected that liberty he had beſtowed. Whatever can touch the heart, or rouſe the ſpirit, is to be found in this period. The tender death of Lord Ruſſel, the heroic one of Sidney; the favourite ſon of one King ſent to the block by his ſucceſſor, and human nature diſgraced in the outrageous puniſhment of his followers;

followers; a great monarch ſeeking refuge from the ancient enemies of his kingdom; a nephew fighting againſt his uncle, two ſons-in-law againſt their father, and two Kings contending in a diſputed kingdom, as upon a public theatre, for pre-eminence; faction in England and Scotland, rebellion in Scotland and Ireland, and invaſion impending upon all the three kingdoms; diſtractions in the Royal family, diviſions among the great, terrors among the people; France enjoying and inſulting the misfortunes ſhe created, but ſharing them in the end; and a gallant nation in continual agitations, not the ſymptoms of weakneſs, but of vigour, keeping its courſe ſtraight forward to liberty and glory.

Tempers of men upon the diſſolution of the parliament.

The diſſolution of Charles the Second's laſt Parliament, in April of the year 1681, together with the general belief that he was never to ſummon another, produced various ſentiments in the nation. The ſpirits of the Tories were raiſed, and thoſe of the Whigs depreſſed; the former in proportion to their late fears, and the latter to their late hopes: For, from the vehemence of temper which men acquire by union, and ſtill more by oppoſition in politics, the affection for the public was become a private paſſion in the minds of both parties. But the Tories exceeded the Whigs in the expreſſion of their ſentiments upon this event; becauſe the triumphs of victory are more open than the complaints of ſorrow; and becauſe men attach themſelves more ſtrongly to a cauſe for which they have ſuffered, than to one by which they are only to gain. In return to Charles's appeal to his people, addreſſes were ſent from every part of the kingdom *, teſtifying diſappro-

* Gazettes.

PART I. Book I. 1681.

diſapprobation of the proceedings of the late Parliaments, and even treating parliaments themſelves with irreverence. Theſe addreſſes were not oppoſed by the Whigs, either from the ſudden dejection under which they laboured, or from the ſullenneſs of diſappointment and revenge; or becauſe they knew, that addreſſes are, in Britain, generally the effects of party and example, but ſeldom the voice of the nation, or of reaſon *. Men of moderate ſentiments were diſpleaſed with both parties; with the Whigs, becauſe, in their zeal for liberty, they had refuſed the King's offer of limitations upon a Popiſh ſucceſſor; and with the Tories, becauſe, in the exceſs of their loyalty, they rejoiced in the King's reſolution to aſſemble parliaments no longer.

Proſecutions.

The firſt effects of the preſent calm, appeared in proſecutions againſt thoſe who had lately given diſturbance to the King; engines of vengeance which always throw a greater gloom upon the minds of the ſubjects, when directed by the Sovereign, than when promoted by the paſſions of the people, becauſe they are deemed the common attendants of tyranny, and becauſe it appears more terrible to depend upon the will of one than upon that of many. Shafteſbury was ſent to the tower, upon a charge of having inſtigated inſurrections. Colledge a London joiner, Rouſe another mechanic, and ſeveral others, were ſeized, as perſons who had been prevailed upon by theſe inſtigations; and Lord Howard, upon an accuſation of having written a libel againſt the King. Shafteſ-

* Young Cromwell, when he was drinking, uſed to ſit upon a cheſt which contained the addreſſes of 1 600,000 people, and to ſay, he ſat now upon the lives and fortunes of all the people of England.

Shaftesbury's spirit deserted him in the solitude of a prison. He applied to Charles for leave to retire * to America for ever; and, if this were granted, offered to disclose what he knew. But, when a pardon was offered to the mechanics, upon a condition that they would swear against their leader, they rejected it with disdain. Most of the witnesses made use of by the court against the prisoners, were the same men whom their party had formerly employed against the court in the Popish plot: A retaliation which threw equal disgrace upon both parties. The juries of London, who were of the popular party, refused to find bills against Colledge, Rouse, Howard, Shaftesbury, or others of their party. But, under the pretence that Colledge's treason was committed at Oxford, he was brought to a second inquisition before a jury in that city; because it was known, that the inhabitants were more in the interests of the court. The Oxford jury condemned him to die for the same crime, and upon the same evidence which the London jury disregarded against Shaftesbury. And the exulting shouts of the people at Oxford, even in court, for the condemnation of the one prisoner, were re-echoed from London † for the acquittal of the other. The heads of Colledge's defences, which he had in writing in his pocket, were taken from him as he went to his trial, under pretence that they contained seditious matter, were perused by the

* Sir John Reresby, 124.

† A letter in the paper office from Sir Leoline Jenkins to the Prince of Orange, of date 25th November 1681, says, "The acclamations in court for Shaftesbury's "acquittal lasted an hour."

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PART I. Book I. 1681.

of the exclusionists in England; because it shewed them, that a civil war must be entailed upon the two kingdoms, if the Duke should be settled upon the throne of the one, and excluded from that of the other. Fletcher, Stair, Argyle, and many others who had opposed the Duke, took refuge in Holland, and filled the Prince of Orange's court with complaints of their country's wrongs and their own.

The news of Argyle's punishment, when carried to England, struck all the exclusionists with anxieties for their future fates. As Argyle had been eminent for his loyalty, and his sufferings in the cause of it, even many of the royalists perceived with pain *, that no past services would be received as atonements for the want of the most implicit obedience to the Duke's will. His administratian in Scotland against non-conformists, and against those who were accused of accession to the late conspiracy, was a continuation of the rigours of Lauderdale, who, by the fury of his temper, had brought a great part of his countrymen to such a state of mind, that it was become impossible to govern them, either by mercy or severity. The great latitude which the laws of Scotland gave to those who prosecuted the enemies of government, together with the extreme animosity of the Tories against the Whigs, all of whom they regarded as enthusiasts, assassins, and rebels, threw imputations of cruelty upon the Duke, which, perhaps, should have been confined to those to whom the execution of the laws was committed. It was

* Sprat, who wrote under the eyes of both the royal brothers, says, in pag. 162. That Charles complained that there had been a defection of the royalists of late.

was even reported, that he attended with curiosity the torture of state-prisoners, and beheld their agonies with indifference. And these reports, though probably false *, raised a general horror, even from the chance of their being true.

Visit of the Prince of Orange. July.

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PART I. Book I. 1681.

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The news of [illegible]Charles marked still more strongly England, st[illegible] of the Prince after he was gone. "I their futu[illegible]" said he, "why the Prince of Orange and loyalty [illegible]Monmouth are so fond of each other, of t[illegible] both aim at the same mistress!" The v[illegible] Portsmouth, who, after the dissolution of Charles's last parliament, had altered her conduct entirely, and owned to the King, that she had been misled by the popular party to believe that he could never enjoy quiet without consenting to the exclusion, now humoured his prejudices against the Prince: For she told Barillon, who she well knew would tell it again to the King, that the Prince had pressed her to use her interest with the King, still to consent to the exclusion †. The Prince, perceiving he could not succeed with the King, paid court to the popular party. He visited Lord Russel. He dined with the city, although Charles desired he would not, and although the Lords Halifax and Hyde advised him against it. And Charles and he parted in ten days with equal discontent ‡.

Some

* Lord Guilford's memorandum in North's examen, page 133. and 473.

† Vid. appendix to this chapter.

‡ Gazette, July 25. Aug. 8.

ne before this visit, the French King had incipality of Orange. The Prince under- at had passed whilst he was in England, to interest himself in the recovery of e Dutch ambassador at Paris desired e English ambassador, to concur with pplication in favour of the Prince, Preston , he had no instructions; and, when the Dutch d in England for the King's concurrence, they ot no better answer: Inattentions which added to the Prince's former displeasure *.

Charles's neglect of the prince's interest.

But now the King's double dealing, and double ties, brought him into that cruel distress to which such conduct exposes Princes, and private persons alike: While Spain, on the one hand, called upon him for help against the encroachments of France, in terms of his late public treaty, and Lewis, on the other, threatened him with the loss of the pension in the late private treaty, if he gave it. His situation, as commonly happens in such cases, made him at last lose the very feeling of pride; for, when the Spanish and Dutch ambassadors proposed to him to enter into an association for the preservation of the Netherlands, he consulted privately with Barillon upon the answer he should give them; and then gave one which flattered them with his help, while it kept him disengaged. And, when Lewis applied to him, not to obstruct an attempt which he was meditating against Luxemburgh, the key to Germany, Holland, and Flanders, Charles made just that

The King's distress with regard to foreign affairs.

* The correspondence between Lord Sunderland and Lord Preston, which contains the detail of this affair, is in the paper office. Vid. also appendix to this chapter.

PART I. Book I. 1681.

of the excluſioniſts in England; becauſe it ſhewed them, that a civil war muſt be entailed upon the two kingdoms, if the Duke ſhould be ſettled upon the throne of the one, and excluded from that of the other. Fletcher, Stair, Argyle, and many others who had oppoſed the Duke, took refuge in Holland, and filled the Prince of Orange's court with complaints of their country's wrongs and their own.

The news of Argyle's puniſhment, when carried to England, ſtruck all the excluſioniſts with anxieties for their future fates. As Argyle had been eminent for his loyalty, and his ſufferings in the cauſe of it, even many of the royaliſts perceived with pain *, that no paſt ſervices would be received as atonements for the want of the moſt implicit obedience to the Duke's will. His adminiſtratian in Scotland againſt non-conformiſts, and againſt thoſe who were accuſed of acceſſion to the late conſpiracy, was a continuation of the rigours of Lauderdale, who, by the fury of his temper, had brought a great part of his countrymen to ſuch a ſtate of mind, that it was become impoſſible to govern them, either by mercy or ſeverity. The great latitude which the laws of Scotland gave to thoſe who proſecuted the enemies of government, together with the extreme animoſity of the Tories againſt the Whigs, all of whom they regarded as enthuſiaſts, aſſaſſins, and rebels, threw imputations of cruelty upon the Duke, which, perhaps, ſhould have been confined to thoſe to whom the execution of the laws was committed. It was

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PART I. Book I. 1681.

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PART I. Book I. 1682.

of two years, he was not able to bring one houſe of commons to comply with his will. By the law of England, the validity of charters of corporations might be inquired into by the writ of *quo warranto*. The profligate Jeffrey's ſuggeſted to the King, that moſt of them might be annulled, in conſequence of ſuch an inquiry. Charles began with the charter of the city, againſt which he directed a proſecution in the King's Bench. It is needleſs to mention the frivolouſneſs of the grounds upon which the action was maintained; becauſe the King avowed it, when, in a publication authoriſed by him *, he afterwards acknowledged, that his view in overturning the city-charters, was to take the nomination of the juries from the popular party. At the ſame time, under colour of law, but more by violence, the details of which, though intereſting once, are unimportant now, he forced a Mayor and Sheriffs of his own chooſing upon the city. After the attack upon the city-charter ſucceeded, it was transferred to almoſt every other borough in the kingdom. The moſt trifling deviations from the terms of ancient charters, the moſt inſignificant offences committed by the officers of boroughs, even againſt the moſt obſolete laws, were made the pretences for the forfeiting of charters. One or two inſtances may be given as examples. The charter of St Ives was attacked, becauſe that borough had four conſtables, inſtead of the original number of three, and three ſerjeants at mace, inſtead of two. The complaint againſt Oxford was, that the city had five aldermen, when the charter gave only four; that the fair was kept in one place inſtead of another; and that Stephen Kibble, the town clerk, had ſigned

* Sprat.

1683.

signed himself the King's clerk, without t[illegible]om a leave. In order that these prosecutions might b[illegible]senti- effectually carried on, a committee was named [illegible] man King to receive informations; an institution which er- ritated one half of the people against the other, and debased both. The greatest men in the nation became informers; and individuals indulged their private piques, under pretence of serving the public interest. Lake, Bishop of Chichester, prostituted the holiest of profes- sions to the basest of offices; even the elegant Lord Hali- fax, and the virtuous Duke of Ormond, from false ideas of loyalty, joined with the meanest of mankind in promoting the surrenders and the forfeitures of charters. Judgments of forfeiture fell upon many boroughs: And many more, conscious of the inequality of the combat between them and their Sovereign, before judges named by him, of high tory principles, and removeable at pleasure *, made voluntary surrenders of their constitutions. The King new-modelled the charters, and restored them, but reserved to the crown the nomination to all power in the boroughs, and filled them with electors agreeable to himself. Measures which, had they not been defeat- ed by the Revolution, could not have failed, by throw- ing parliamentary elections into the hands of the Sove- reign, to have introduced a tyranny the more painful to the subjects, because the old forms of freedom would have been continually before their eyes †.

Rye-house plot. 1683.

While the Duke in Scotland, and the King in Eng- land, were pursuing those measures, to bring the spirits of the people in both kingdoms under subjection, there was

* Sprat, 164.

† I have taken the circumstances of the *quo warranto* from papers in the paper office.

PART I. Book I. 1682.

of tw[illegible] comm[illegible] Engla[illegible] be in prof[illegible] th[illegible] o[illegible]

[illegible]ho, having long oppoſed the [illegible]ommon way of party, prepared [illegible]reedom for ever points it out to [illegible]he voice of the laws it put to ſi-

24

PARTED among themſelves: "The King, Boo[illegible]e juries in the city, had now at his [illegible]es of all who had hitherto expoſed them- [illegible]eir country. By the diſuſe of parliaments, [illegible]t it out of their power to recur to conſti- [illegible] remedies. Even if he ſhould alter his pre- [illegible]plan of governing without thoſe aſſemblies, he [illegible], by making himſelf maſter of parliamentary e- [illegible]ctions in the boroughs, barred all legal oppoſition to his will for the future. The Duke, by bending "the martial ſpirits of the Scots, would form them to "be the fitteſt inſtruments of tyranny againſt the Eng- "liſh. What was left for them, freemen, the ſons of "freemen, to preſerve their freedom, but reſiſtance? "The principles of ſelf-defence called upon them, "their duty to their country commanded them, to "prevent that blow, which Princes, who aimed at ar- "bitrary power, perhaps, already meditated againſt "both them and their country. It was glorious to op- "poſe that power, although they ſhould periſh in the "attempt. But their countrymen were not as yet ſo "loſt to ſhame and to virtue, as to abandon their de- "liverers. If they ſhould be abandoned, Britons, yet "unborn, would bleſs their names, and weep for their "fates."

Characters of conſpirators and their objects.

This band of friends was compoſed of Lord Ruſſel, illuſtrious from the nobility of his deſcent; of Hampden, deriving ſtill greater luſtre from the commoner his grandfather; of Lord Eſſex, the friend of Ruſſel; and of

of Algernoon Sidney, who derived his blood from a long train of Engliſh nobles and heroes, and his ſentiments from the patriots and heroes of antiquity; a man in ſome of whoſe letters * all the manly, yet tender eloquence

1683.

* The writings of Mr Sidney are unequal, like thoſe of moſt men who are not profeſſedly ſcholars. But how far the above obſervation is juſt, may be ſeen from the following letter, which he wrote to one of his friends who had adviſed him to return into England after the Reſtoration. ——" Sir, I am ſorry I cannot in all things conform myſelf to the advices of my friends. If theirs had any joint concernment with mine, I ſhould willingly ſubmit my intereſt to theirs: But when I alone am intereſted, and they only adviſe me to come over as ſoon as the act of indemnity is paſſed, becauſe they think it is beſt for me; I cannot wholly lay aſide my own judgment and choice. I confeſs, we are naturally inclined to delight in our own country, and I have a particular love to mine. I hope, I have given ſome teſtimony of it. I think, that being exiled from it is a great evil; and would redeem myſelf from it with the loſs of a great deal of my blood. But when that country of mine, which uſed to be eſteemed a paradiſe, is now like to be made a ſtage of injury; the liberty, which we hoped to eſtabliſh, oppreſſed; luxury and lewdneſs ſet up in its height, inſtead of the piety, virtue, ſobriety, and modeſty, which we hoped God, by our hands, would have introduced; the beſt of our nation made a prey to the worſt; the parliament, court, and army, corrupted; the people enſlaved; all things vendible; no man ſafe, but by ſuch evil and infamous means as flattery and bribery; what joy can I have in my own country in this condition? Is it a pleaſure to ſee all I love in the world is ſold and deſtroyed? Shall I renounce all my

PART I. Book I. 1683.

loquence of Brutus, breathes forth, and who, in firmneſs and ſimplicity of character, reſembled that firſt of Romans.

old principles, learn the vile court-arts, and make my peace by bribing ſome of them? Shall their corruption and vice be my ſafety? Ah! no: Better is a life among ſtrangers, than in my own country upon ſuch conditions. Whilſt I live, I will endeavour to preſerve my liberty; or, at leaſt, not conſent to the deſtroying of it. I hope, I ſhall die in the ſame principles in which I have lived, and will no longer live than they can preſerve me. I have in my life been guilty of many follies; but, as I think, of no meanneſs. I will not blot and defile that which is paſt, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my mind, that when God ſhould caſt me into ſuch a condition, as that I cannot ſave my life, but by doing an indecent thing, he ſhews me the time is come, wherein I ſhould reſign it. And when I cannot live in my own country, but by ſuch means as are worſe than dying in it, I think he ſhews me I ought to keep myſelf out of it. Let them pleaſe themſelves with making the King glorious, who think a whole people may juſtly be ſacrificed for the intereſt and pleaſure of one man, and a few of his followers: Let them rejoice in their ſubtilty, who, by betraying the former powers, have gained the favour of this, not only preſerved, but advanced themſelves in theſe dangerous changes. Nevertheleſs, perhaps, they may find the King's glory is their ſhame, his plenty the people's miſery; and that the gaining of an office, or a little money, is a poor reward for deſtroying a nation (which, if it were preſerved in liberty and virtue, would truly be the moſt glorious in the world) and that others may find they have with much pains purchaſed their own ſhame and miſery; a dear price paid for that, which is not

Romans. Lord Ruſſel, though heir to the greateſt fortune in the kingdom, yet eſteeming the meaneſt freeman to be his equal, ſo diſintereſted, that he never accepted any office of profit or power under government, was the moſt popular man in England. From principle and reaſoning, more than from natural vigour of ſentiment, he aſſumed the high tone of oppoſition to arbitrary power, and therefore the higher praiſe was due to him. When Charles diſappointed the bill of excluſion, Lord Ruſſel ſaid, "If my father had adviſed the meaſure, I would have been the firſt to impeach him." But what he only ſaid, Eſſex and Sidney would have done. Eſſex had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and at the head of the treaſury; but threw every honour of government behind him, becauſe he preferred the people to the King. Sidney had been active equally in parliament, and in the field, againſt Charles the Firſt, as long as that Prince was an object of terror; but, when he was appointed to be one of his judges, he refuſed to trample upon an enemy who could no longer defend himſelf. He checked and prevented ſome attempts againſt the life of Charles the Second, while a youth. He oppoſed Cromwell, from the ſame hatred of arbitrary power, which had made him rebel againſt his Sovereign. After the Reſtoration, he ſubmitted

not worth keeping, nor the life that is accompanied with it.——My thoughts as to King and ſtate depending upon their actions, no man ſhall be a more faithful ſervant to him than I, if he make the good and proſperity of his people his glory; none more his enemy, if he doth the contrary. To my particular friends I ſhall be conſtant in all occaſions; and to you a moſt affectionate ſervant."

PART I. BOOK I. 1683.

ſubmitted to a voluntary baniſhment during ſixteen years; becauſe he did not eſteem that to be any longer his country, from which he thought liberty had fled. He returned to England, only with a view to pay the laſt duties to his father, the Earl of Leiceſter, who was dying, and then to quit it for ever: But drawing in with his native air that ſpirit of party, which ſcarce any Briton can reſiſt, he altered his intention, and plunged into all the cabals of the popular leaders in parliament. He had received a pardon from Charles the Second, for his offences againſt government: But, like Brutus, he thought that no obligations to himſelf could ſhake off thoſe which he owed to his country. The high rank of the Duke of Monmouth, with his ſtill higher popularity in the nation, made thoſe men receive him into their councils, who was at this time particularly irritated by the affronts which had been lately put upon him. Eſſex introduced into the ſame councils Lord Howard, who, forgetting the nobility of his blood amidſt republican notions, had ſate as a commoner * in one of Cromwell's parliaments; a man againſt whom Ruſſel, though his near relation †, had long entertained an averſion; either from an antipathy, which nature ſometimes gives men againſt their bane, or from the common repugnance which people of ſilent tempers have to the loquacious. But Howard aſſumed merit from his late ſufferings, and his continual complaints of them were accounted pledges of his ſincerity.

By

* Late Memoirs of the Howards, by a gentleman of the family.

† General dictionary, voce Lord Ruſſel.

1683.

By long ſociety in party, the ſentiments of theſe men in politics had come to be the ſame; and, as often happens to men of ſimilar ſentiments, they believed that their objects were the ſame too, although they were very different. Ruſſel, Eſſex, and Hampden, intended to make no further uſe of inſurrection, than to exclude the Duke of York, and to fix the barriers of the conſtitution with preciſion. Sidney aimed at the deſtruction of monarchy, and on its ruins to found that republic, which in imagination he adored. Monmouth hoped, amidſt public diſtractions, to pave a way for himſelf to the throne. Howard, with luxuriant eloquence and wit, adopted the views of each particular perſon, and incited all to vigour and action, feeling for moments what they felt through life.

They join with Shafteſbury.

Although theſe perſons diſliked Shafteſbury, they all, except Sidney, who ſcorned the intercourſe, entered into a communication of meaſures with him, becauſe they ſtood in need of his vaſt party in the city, which was as daring as himſelf. Shafteſbury's only object was revenge. For, having lately informed the Duke of York, that the Ducheſs of Portſmouth had prevailed upon the King to get her ſon named his ſucceſſor by parliament; and having offered to communicate other ſecrets to the Duke, if he would pardon what was paſt, the Duke broke off the converſation, by ſaying coldly, "My Lord Shafteſbury, you ſtand more in need of "the King's pardon, than of mine." Lord Grey, endowed with the knowledge of letters and arts, but who hid under it a ſoul void of that virtue to which that knowledge is allied, joined the conſpiracy; a man, from whoſe looſe life no generous enterpriſe was expected;

1683.

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PART I. Book I. 1683.

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old principles, learn the vile court-arts, and make my peace by bribing ſome of them? Shall their corruption and vice be my ſafety? Ah! no: Better is a life among ſtrangers, than in my own country upon ſuch conditions. Whilſt I live, I will endeavour to preſerve my liberty; or, at leaſt, not conſent to the deſtroying of it. I hope, I ſhall die in the ſame principles in which I have lived, and will no longer live than they can preſerve me. I have in my life been guilty of many follies; but, as I think, of no meanneſs. I will not blot and defile that which is paſt, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my mind, that when God ſhould caſt me into ſuch a condition, as that I cannot ſave my life, but by doing an indecent thing, he ſhews me the time is come, wherein I ſhould reſign it. And when I cannot live in my own country, but by ſuch means as are worſe than dying in it, I think he ſhews me I ought to keep myſelf out of it. Let them pleaſe themſelves with making the King glorious, who think a whole people may juſtly be ſacrificed for the intereſt and pleaſure of one man, and a few of his followers: Let them rejoice in their ſubtilty, who, by betraying the former powers, have gained the favour of this, not only preſerved, but advanced themſelves in theſe dangerous changes. Nevertheleſs, perhaps, they may find the King's glory is their ſhame, his plenty the people's miſery; and that the gaining of an office, or a little money, is a poor reward for deſtroying a nation (which, if it were preſerved in liberty and virtue, would truly be the moſt glorious in the world) and that others may find they have with much pains purchaſed their own ſhame and miſery; a dear price paid for that, which is not

Romans. Lord Ruſſel, though heir to the greateſt fortune in the kingdom, yet eſteeming the meaneſt freeman to be his equal, ſo diſintereſted, that he never accepted any office of profit or power under government, was the moſt popular man in England. From principle and reaſoning, more than from natural vigour of ſentiment, he aſſumed the high tone of oppoſition to arbitrary power, and therefore the higher praiſe was due to him. When Charles diſappointed the bill of excluſion, Lord Ruſſel ſaid, "If my father had adviſed the meaſure, I would have been the firſt to impeach him." But what he only ſaid, Eſſex and Sidney would have done. Eſſex had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and at the head of the treaſury; but threw every honour of government behind him, becauſe he preferred the people to the King. Sidney had been active equally in parliament, and in the field, againſt Charles the Firſt, as long as that Prince was an object of terror; but, when he was appointed to be one of his judges, he refuſed to trample upon an enemy who could no longer defend himſelf. He checked and prevented ſome attempts againſt the life of Charles the Second, while a youth. He oppoſed Cromwell, from the ſame hatred of arbitrary power, which had made him rebel againſt his Sovereign. After the Reſtoration, he ſubmitted

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not worth keeping, nor the life that is accompanied with it.——My thoughts as to King and ſtate depending upon their actions, no man ſhall be a more faithful ſervant to him than I, if he make the good and proſperity of his people his glory; none more his enemy, if he doth the contrary. To my particular friends I ſhall be conſtant in all occaſions; and to you a moſt affectionate ſervant."

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ſubmitted to a voluntary baniſhment during ſixteen years; becauſe he did not eſteem that to be any longer his country, from which he thought liberty had fled. He returned to England, only with a view to pay the laſt duties to his father, the Earl of Leiceſter, who was dying, and then to quit it for ever: But drawing in with his native air that ſpirit of party, which ſcarce any Briton can reſiſt, he altered his intention, and plunged into all the cabals of the popular leaders in parliament. He had received a pardon from Charles the Second, for his offences againſt government: But, like Brutus, he thought that no obligations to himſelf could ſhake off thoſe which he owed to his country. The high rank of the Duke of Monmouth, with his ſtill higher popularity in the nation, made thoſe men receive him into their councils, who was at this time particularly irritated by the affronts which had been lately put upon him. Eſſex introduced into the ſame councils Lord Howard, who, forgetting the nobility of his blood amidſt republican notions, had ſate as a commoner * in one of Cromwell's parliaments; a man againſt whom Ruſſel, though his near relation †, had long entertained an averſion; either from an antipathy, which nature ſometimes gives men againſt their bane, or from the common repugnance which people of ſilent tempers have to the loquacious. But Howard aſſumed merit from his late ſufferings, and his continual complaints of them were accounted pledges of his ſincerity.

By

* Late Memoirs of the Howards, by a gentleman of the family.

† General dictionary, voce Lord Ruſſel.

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By long ſociety in party, the ſentiments of theſe men in politics had come to be the ſame; and, as often happens to men of ſimilar ſentiments, they believed that their objects were the ſame too, although they were very different. Ruſſel, Eſſex, and Hampden, intended to make no further uſe of inſurrection, than to exclude the Duke of York, and to fix the barriers of the conſtitution with preciſion. Sidney aimed at the deſtruction of monarchy, and on its ruins to found that republic, which in imagination he adored. Monmouth hoped, amidſt public diſtractions, to pave a way for himſelf to the throne. Howard, with luxuriant eloquence and wit, adopted the views of each particular perſon, and incited all to vigour and action, feeling for moments what they felt through life.

They join with Shafteſbury.

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ther, Lord Capel, had been led to death, and in which his wife's grandfather, Lord Northumberland, had inflicted a voluntary death upon himself. When he saw his friend carried to what he reckoned certain fate, their common enemies enjoying the spectacle, and reflected *, that it was he who had forced Lord Howard upon the confidence of Ruſſel, he retired, and, by a Roman death, put an end to his misery.

Ruſſel's trial.

When Ruſſel came into court, he deſired a delay of his trial until next day; becauſe ſome of his witneſſes could not arrive in town before the evening. Sawyer the attorney-general †, with an inhumane repartee, anſwered, "But you did not intend to have granted the "King the delay of one hour for ſaving his life;" and refuſed his conſent to the requeſt. Ruſſel having aſked leave of the court, that notes of the evidence, for his uſe, might be taken by the hand of another; the attorney-general, in order to prevent him from getting the aid of counſel, told him, he might uſe the hand of one of his ſervants in writing, if he pleaſed ‡. "I aſk "none," anſwered the priſoner, "but that of the "Lady who ſits by me." When the ſpectators at theſe words turned their eyes, and beheld the daughter of the virtuous Southampton, riſing up to aſſiſt her Lord in this his utter-moſt diſtreſs, a thrill of anguiſh ran through the aſſembly. But when, in his defence, he ſaid ‖, "There can be no rebellion *now*, as in former "times, for there are *now* no great men left in Eng-"land," a pang of a different nature was felt by thoſe who

* State trials, vol ii. p. 135. and Burnet's account in the General Dictionary, voce Ruſſel.

† Lord Ruſſel's trial.

‡ Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

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who thought for the public. Howard was the chief witneſs againſt him. Ruſſel, reſpecting their common relation, heard him without ſigns of emotion; though, when the report of Lord Eſſex's death was brought into court, and being whiſpered from ear to ear, at laſt reached his, he had burſt into tears. Soon after, Lord Howard, while he pronounced the name of Lord Eſſex, pretending to cry for his memory, at a time when he was, without concern, bringing death on his ſurviving friend, made the contraſt between genuine and affected paſſion, virtue and diſhonour, complete. The noble houſe of Howard redeemed the only diſgrace that ever was caſt upon it: For one of the Duke of Norfolk's family was among the very few, who, in that perilous hour of friendſhip, gave teſtimony in favour of the character and deportment of Lord Ruſſel. Jeffreys, in his ſpeech to the jury, turned the untimely fate of Eſſex into a proof of his conſciouſneſs of the conſpiracy, in which both friends had been engaged. Pemberton, who owed his firſt riſe in life to the Bedford family, and who now preſided as chief juſtice, behaved to the priſoner with a candour and decorum ſeldom found in the judges of this reign, or the next. Ruſſel, in the conduct of his defence, did not avow the intended inſurrection, leſt it might hurt his friends who remained to be tried; nor deny it, leſt it ſhould injure his own honour. Hence it was thought by many, that his appearance at his trial did not correſpond with the former luſtre of his life: But thoſe who knew his ſituation ſaw, that he choſe to make the ſmall remains of his life rather uſeful to others, than glorious for himſelf. The proof againſt him was not ſo ſtrong as might have been expected; yet the jury found him guilty. Treby, the recorder,

PART I. BOOK I. 1683.

corder, who had been embarked deeply with Lord Shaftesbury in his schemes in the city, was mean enough, instead of throwing up his office, to pronounce sentence of death upon his associate, and even to argue against an arrest of judgment. Yet Russel reproached him not, lest his reproaches might bring mischief upon others. But, when Rich, the sheriff, who had been formerly violent for the exclusion, and had now changed sides, brought him the warrant of death, he felt an inclination to say, "That they two should never vote "again in the same way in the same house." Yet, recollecting that Rich might feel pain from the innocent pleasantry, he checked himself.

Russel's parting with his family and friend.

Lord Russel, during his trial, at his death, and in a more severe test of his fortitude than either, his parting with his wife and infant-children, and with his friend Lord Cavendish, preserved the dignity of his rank and character. With a deep and noble silence; with a long and fixed look, in which respect and affection, unmingled with passion, were expressed, Lord and Lady Russel parted for ever; he great in this last action of his life, but she greater. His eyes followed her's while she quitted the room; and, when he lost sight of her, turning to the clergyman who attended him, he said, "The bitterness of death is now past." The observation was just: For, the fate of the survivor was more hapless, who, though in public she seemed to assume pride from her condition, yet lost her eye-sight by continual weeping in private; and calling often for death, could never find it, until an extreme old age laid her for ever by the partner of her soul *. Lord Cavendish offered

* She died at the age of 87 years. Collins's peerage, vol. i. p. 174.

offered to manage his escape by changing cloaths with him in prison, and continuing at all hazards in his place. He refused, happy that he had equalled, not surpassed, his friend in generosity *.

Other anecdotes relating to his last hours.

Being flattered with hopes of life by some divines, if he would acknowledge to the King, that he believed subjects had, in no case whatever, a right of resistance against the throne, he answered in these words †: "I "can have no conception of a limited monarchy, which "has not a right to defend its own limitations: "My conscience will not permit me to say otherwise "to the King." Charles, by the advice of the Duke, refused 100,000 pounds, offered by the old Earl of Bedford for his son's life; an advice which the Duke had afterwards reason to repent, as shall be related in its proper place ‡. Charles felt not for an object far more affecting, the daughter of the virtuous Southampton motionless at his feet. In vain did he often repeat, in speaking of Essex's death, "My Lord Essex might "have tried my mercy, I owed a life to his family;" alluding to the fate of Essex's father, who had lost his life

* Subjects of history-painting are sought for in the histories of Rome and Greece. Many are to be found in our own. What a picture might the parting of Lord Russel with his family and friend make in the hands of a Hamilton?

† I had this circumstance from Lord Littleton. Vid. also Archbishop Tillotson's examination in the Lords Journals, Dec. 20. 1683.

‡ Lord Bedford's letter to the King, which, in seeming to make an apology for this offer, seems to renew it, is in the paper office, and is written with great tenderness. See it in the appendix to this book.

PART I. Book I. 1683.

life on a ſcaffold for his attachment to the King's father. Men ſuſpected the intention of mercy to the dead, when they ſaw none ſhewn to the living. Charles, even at ſigning the warrant for the death of Lord Ruſſel, marked remembrance of former injuries: For, alluding to Ruſſel's having been one of thoſe, who, in the heat of party during the proſecution of the popiſh plot, had diſputed the King's prerogative of diſpenſing with the more ignominious part of the ſentence of treaſon, pronounced againſt Lord Stafford, he ſaid, "Lord Ruſſel ſhall find, that I am poſſeſſed of that prerogative, "which, in the caſe of Lord Stafford, he thought fit to "deny me." Amidſt the dark and miſchievous train of policy which France had ſpread over England during this reign, the tenderneſs of the friend, and the generoſity of the monarch, upon this occaſion, however, ſhone athwart; for Rouvigny, who had been obliged to the Bedford family for every hoſpitable civility in England, begged of Lewis the Fourteenth to interpoſe for the life of Lord Ruſſel. Lewis conſented, and ſent him with a letter to Charles. Barillon informed Charles of it: But that Prince, with a polite inhumanity, anſwered, "I do "not wiſh to prevent Mr Rouvigny's coming here; "But Lord Ruſſel's head will be off before he can ar-"rive *." Tenderneſs of mind and courage go continually together: The gallant Lord Dartmouth in vain reminded his maſter of the merits of the deceaſed Earl of Southampton, and of the hapleſs age of the innocent Earl of Bedford. The execution was performed not on Towerhill, the common place of execution for men of high rank, but in Lincoln's Inn fields, in order that the citizens might be humbled by the ſpectacle of their once triumphant leader, carried in his coach to death thro'

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* Appendix.

a longer ſpace of the ſtreets; a device which, like moſt others of the kind, produced an effect contrary to what was intended: For, ſilence and grief attended the proceſſion; and the multitude imagined they beheld virtue and liberty ſitting by his ſide. In paſſing, he looked towards Southampton-houſe, where his family was; the tear ſtarted into his eye; but he inſtantly wiped it away. He prayed for the King; but, with a preſcience of what afterwards happened, he foretold, "That, although a cloud hung now "over the nation, his death would do more ſervice than "his life could have done." Honour and friendſhip followed him beyond the grave: Lord Cavendiſh joined the hand of his eldeſt ſon in marriage to one of the daughters of his deceaſed friend. We quit anecdotes relating to ſuch illuſtrious perſonages with reluctance. Lord Cavendiſh was in the next reign fined 30,000 pounds, for turning out of the preſence-chamber a gentleman who had affronted him. His mother offered to pay the fine, by diſcharging 60,000 pounds, which the family had advanced to James's father and brother in their greateſt extremities*; but her offer was rejected†. 1683.

Before

* Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 308.

† It may ſeem difficult to reconcile Lord Ruſſel's ſincerity with ſome expreſſions in his laſt ſpeech, which ſeem to import a denial of the truth of the conſpiracy. It was much believed at the time, that Burnet was the author of ſome paſſages of the ſpeech; and a compariſon of the ſpeech with one of Lord Ruſſel's letters to the King in the Paper-office, which only denies the aſſaſſination, but not the conſpiracy, makes it probable that the ſuſpicion was juſt. Lady Ruſſel indeed, in her letter to the King (printed in the general dictionary), juſtifies Burnet. But ſhe confeſſes, ſhe was abſent moſt of the time while her Lord was writing his ſpeech; and Burnet was continually with him.

It may appear ungenerous in the living to throw reflections on the dead. But it is a piece of juſtice I owe to hiſtorical truth, to ſay, that I have never tried Burnet's facts by the teſts of dates, and of original papers, without finding them wrong. For which reaſon, I

PART I. BOOK I.

1683. Sidney's trial.

Before Sidney was brought to his trial, Pemberton was removed from the head of the King's Bench, and * even from the privy-council; and Jeffreys was put in his place, in order, by the fierceneſs of his temper and manners, to cope with a man, the vigour of whoſe ſpirit was known throughout Europe. A jury was ſelected with care, and compoſed of men of mean degree, to enſure his condemnation. Sidney was then fifty-nine years of age, his hair white, and his health broken by the fatigues of his youth and the ſtudies of his age. He at firſt intended to plead guilty, in order to ſave trouble to himſelf and to others; but afterwards reflecting, that it was neceſſary to rouſe his countrymen from their indolence, to vindicate the laws, by ſhewing them how eaſily theſe might be abuſed in their holieſt ſanctuaries, when parliaments were in diſuſe, he reſolved to ſtand his trial; to which too perhaps he was incited by that averſion from an obſcure death, which is natural to the brave. By the ſtatute of treaſon, two witneſſes were required to convict a man of that crime: But ſome diſcourſes upon government having been found in Sidney's hand-writing among his papers, Jeffreys declared from the bench to the jury, that theſe were ſufficient in law to ſupply the want of a ſecond witneſs, although the papers were totally unconnected with the conſpiracy, and contained only ſentiments of liberty worthy of Solon or Lycurgus. The outrages againſt law, through the whole of the trial, throw diſgrace upon the judicial records of a country, in which the life of the ſubject is better protected than in any other upon earth. Sidney collected all the powers of his mind. Not uſing a regular defence, but, according

have made little uſe of them in theſe Memoirs, unleſs when I found them ſupported by other authorities. His book is the more reprehenſible, becauſe it is full of characters, and moſt of them are tinged with the colours of his own weakneſſes and paſſions.

* Books of privy council, Oct. 24, 1683.

as

as paſſion dictated or memory prompted, he urged, from time to time, every argument which the chicane of the law, or the great rules of reaſon and juſtice, ſuggeſted to a ſound head, and a ſtrong heart. The brutality of Jeffreys he anſwered in ſarcaſm decent, but ſevere, or by ſilences which were ſtill more poignant. The arrogance of that judge, whilſt he gave falſe colours to the law, Sidney laid open, by queſtions which admitted of no anſwer, or by ſelf-evident propoſitions, of which all who heard could form a judgment. When the court would have perſuaded him to make a ſtep in law, which he ſuſpected was meant to hurt him, he ſaid, with perhaps an affected, but with a touching ſimplicity*, "I "deſire you will not tempt me, nor make me run on "dark and ſlippery places; I do not ſee my way." Sidney, having taken advantage of a circumſtance, that only partial paſſages of the writings which were produced againſt him were quoted, and even betraying ſome warmth in defence of the writings themſelves, Jeffreys hoped to draw him into an avowal that he was the author. With this view, he handed the papers to Sidney, and deſired him to take off the force of the paſſages by any others in the book. Sidney ſaw the ſnare, but pretended not to ſee it: He turned over the leaves with a ſeemingly grave attention, and then returning them to the bench, ſaid, "Let the man who wrote theſe "papers reconcile what is contained in them." After Howard's depoſition was finiſhed, Sidney was aſked what queſtions he had to put to him? He turned from Howard as from an object unworthy to hold converſe with, or even to be looked at, and anſwered with an emphatical brevity, "None to *him!*" But, when he came to make his defence, he raiſed a ſtorm of indignation and

1683.

* State Trials, vol. ii. p. 206.

PART I. BOOK I.

1683.

contempt againſt Howard*, who was under great obligations to him, as a wretch abandoned by God and by man, profligate in his character, bankrupt in his fortune, and who owed him a debt which he meant to extinguiſh by his death. He mentioned, in a curſory way, his having ſaved Charles's life; but he ſpoke of it, not as a thing from which he aſſumed any merit, but only as the common duty of a man.

His behaviour when brought to receive ſentence.

The fate of Lord Ruſſel had been determined in two days: But Sidney, more obſtinate, prolonged his fate in court during three weeks. Even when brought up to receive ſentence of death, he repeated and inſiſted upon almoſt every plea which had been over-ruled. During the whole of his trial, he had the art, by drawing down unjuſt repulſes upon himſelf, to make the odium of his crime be forgot in that which he raiſed againſt his judges and his proſecutors. Withens, one of the judges, gave him the lie; he ſeemed to diſregard it, as an injury done to himſelf only: But when Jeffreys interrupted him, whilſt he was opening a plea, he took advantage of it, as an injury done to juſtice; and cried out, "Then, I "appeal to God and the world, I am not heard:" After which he refuſed to defend himſelf any longer. When ſentence was paſſed upon him, he made this pathetic exclamation: "Then, O God! O God! I be- "ſeech thee to ſanctify theſe ſufferings unto me, and "impute not my blood to my country, nor to this city "through which I am to be carried to death. Let no "inquiſition be made for it: But, if any ſhall be made, "and the ſhedding of innocent blood muſt be revenged, "let the weight of it fall only on thoſe who maliciouſly "perſecute me for righteouſneſs ſake." Jeffreys, ſtarting from his ſeat, called out, that the priſoner's reaſon

* Burnet.

was

1683. Anecdotes of his laſt hours.

was affected. But Sidney calmly ſtretched out his arm, and deſired Jeffreys to feel "if his pulſe did not beat at "its ordinary rate." Inſtead of applying for mercy to the throne, he demanded only juſtice: For he ſet forth, in a petition to the King *, the injuries which had been done to the laws in his perſon; and, as an equal, deſired to be carried to the royal preſence, that he might, there, have an opportunity of ſhewing the King how much his own intereſt and honour were concerned, in giving that redreſs which his judges had refuſed. That ſimplicity of behaviour with which he had behaved at the council board, he converted into an air of grandeur at his death before the people. He went on foot with a firm ſtep †; he aſked no friend to attend him; and, only for decency, borrowed two of his brother's footmen to walk behind him. He aſcended the ſcaffold with the look, and ſtep, and erect poſture, of one who came to harangue or to command, not to ſuffer; pleaſed to exhibit a pattern of imitation to his countrymen, and to teach them, that death was painful only to cowards and to the guilty. Engliſhmen wept not for him, as they had done for Lord Ruſſel. Their pulſes beat high, their hearts ſwelled, they felt an unuſual grandeur and elevation of mind, whilſt they looked upon him. He told the ſheriffs who had returned a packed jury againſt him, "It was for their ſakes, and not for his own, he re-"minded them, that his blood lay upon their heads." When he was aſked, if he had any thing to ſay to the people; he anſwered, "I have made my peace with "God, and have nothing to ſay to man." In a moment after, he ſaid, "I am ready to die, and will give "you no farther trouble." And then haſtened to the

* The petition, which is exceedingly manly, is in the Paper-office.

† Account of his death ſent to the King, in the Paper-office.

block,

PART I. BOOK I. 1683.

block, as if indignant of life, and impatient to die*. Theſe were the only words he ſpoke in public, upon account of the meanneſs, and ſtill more of the affectation, of a ſpeech on a ſcaffold. But he left his laſt thoughts behind him in writing with his friends; becauſe theſe, he knew, would remain: Thoughts which government was at pains to ſuppreſs, and which, for that reaſon, were more greedily demanded by the people. The paper was calculated to keep the ſpirit of liberty alive, when he, who was accuſtomed to give it life, was laid in the duſt. Inſtead of beſtowing that pardon upon his enemies, which, in moſt dying men, ariſes from the conſciouſneſs of their needing forgiveneſs themſelves, he treated them as if he had been immortal. He confuted the teſtimonies on which he had been condemned, without aſſerting his own innocence of the charge; he ſaid, that, to reach him, the bench had been filled with men who were the blemiſhes of the bar; and he regretted death chiefly, becauſe it had been inflicted by mean hands; ſtriking thus at the witneſſes, the judges, and the jury, all together. His own wrongs, in the courſe of his trial, he mingled with his country's; and he laid down the great and generous principles of political ſociety, which, a few years afterwards, were made the foundations of the revolution. Inſtead of praying for the King, he prayed for his country. Inſtead of drawing a veil over the cauſe for which he ſuffered, he addreſſed his Maker as engaged in it with himſelf. "Bleſs thy peo-"ple," concluded he, "and ſave them: Defend thy "own cauſe, and defend thoſe who defend it. Stir up "ſuch as are faint; direct thoſe who are willing; con-"firm thoſe who are wavering. Grant, that, in my "laſt moments, I may thank thee for permitting me to

* Account of his death ſent to the King, in the Paper-office.

"die

" die for that good old cauſe, in which, from my youth, " I have been engaged." Falling, the geniuſes of Greece and of Rome received him in their arms. 1683.

The unpopularity which Sidney's trial brought upon government, probably ſaved the life of Hampden. As Howard * was the only witneſs againſt him, he was tried only for a miſdemeanor, but fined 40,000*l.* Armſtrong, after eſcaping, had been outlawed; but, before the expiration of the year allowed by law for a ſurrender, he had been ſeized abroad, and ſent over to England. Holloway, one of the ſubordinate conſpirators, was in the ſame ſituation. But that trial which was granted to Holloway, becauſe there was ſufficient evidence againſt him, was refuſed to Armſtrong, becauſe there was not †. The pretence made uſe of by Jeffreys for refuſing a trial to Armſtrong, was, that his appearance in court by compulſion was not equivalent to a voluntary ſurrender: A pretence which was equally good againſt both, or againſt neither. Armſtrong deſired to be heard by counſel upon the plea of his right to a trial: Even this requeſt was refuſed: And, when he ſaid, that he aſked only the common benefit of the law, Jeffreys anſwered, " You ſhall have that indeed: By the grace of God, " you ſhall be executed upon Friday next: You ſhall " have the full benefit of the law ‡." He was conducted to death by thoſe guards whom he had once commanded. Other trials and puniſhments.

* Howard's credit was loſt from his manner of haranguing in giving his evidence. Vid. State Trials. In order to refreſh his memory, a copy of his original informations had been given him. In the Paper-office, I find a note in the hand-writing of Mr. Blaithwaite in theſe words: " 10th Auguſt, 1683, Copies of Lord How- " ard's narratives to be given him."

† Vid. the Duke of York's letter to the Prince of Orange of April 15, 1684, in the Appendix to this book.

‡ Armſtrong's trial, and Lords Journals, 20 December 1689.

Bailie

PART I. BOOK I.

1683. Punishments in Scotland.

Bailie was sent to Scotland, where, contrary to the laws of that country, written depositions were read to the jury in court, which had been partly extorted by torture out of court, and partly transmitted from the record of the state trials in England. Being * broken with infirmities, he was executed the same day † he was condemned, left a natural death should have disappointed a public execution. Several others were put to death in Scotland: But most of the conspirators fled to Holland, and, at the revolution, returned with the Prince of Orange: Of those who fled, the most eminent were Lord Melville, Lord Loudon, and Sir Patrick Hume, created, after the revolution, Earl of Marchmont. The constancy with which the great had died, communicated itself to men in inferior stations: Spence, the Earl of Argyle's secretary, and Carstairs, who had been seized in England, were sent to Scotland to be tortured ‡. Spence endured the torture twice, and Carstairs for a complete hour; but neither would confess, until terms were made with them, that they should not be obliged to become evidences. A shocking instance of cruelty § was, upon this occasion, exhibited in the Scottish privy-council. Mr. Gordon of Earlstone, a man of family and fortune, was condemned to die: Information was given to the privy-council, that he had been intrusted with secrets of great importance: The council wrote to the Scotch secretary of state at London, to know if they might put a person to the torture, who was under sentence of death. The Lord Advocate for Scotland gave his opinion, that he might be tortured: And the King

* Records of Scottish privy-council, 8th April 1684.

† Gazette, Jan. 5, 1684.

‡ Record Scottish privy-council, July 6, August 7, September 5, 1684.

§ Ibid. August 21, September 23, November 23, 1683.

gave orders that he ſhould: He was brought before the privy-council, and the engines produced: But horror drove him into inſtant madneſs. Worſe tortures were prepared for Ferguſon, if he could have been found: It was known that he had fled to Edinburgh: The gates of the city were ſhut, and the ſtricteſt ſearch made for him. But, under pretence of a viſit to a priſoner, he took refuge in the gaol deſtined for his reception, becauſe he knew that there only no body would expect to find him *. 1683.

Fluctuation of mind in the King and Monmouth.

Amidſt a ſtruggle between the feelings of the monarch, and of the father, in Charles, and between the duties of a ſon, and the reſpects of honour, in Monmouth, to his ſuffering friends, Monmouth ſurrendered himſelf; confeſſed in private to the King and Duke, the truth of the inſurrection, diſcovering that it was much wider and more dangerous than is mentioned in any printed relation; received his pardon; but, when an account of theſe things was put into the Gazette, denied in public that he had made any confeſſion at all †. He was then called by the King to ſign a declaration ‡, acknowledging the truth of the inſurrection; he ſigned the paper, but im-

* This adventure of Ferguſon I take from a report common in Scotland. Common reports are very often confirmed by authentic documents. I find an order to ſearch for him in Edinburgh in the Scotch records of privy-council, 4th July 1683.

† The examination of Dr. Chamberlain, a man of honour, and the particular friend of the Duke of Monmouth, is in the Paper-office. Monmouth complained to him of the Gazette, at the ſame time that he owned the truth of the conſpiracy.

‡ In the Paper-office, there are two copies of the paper which it was intended Monmouth ſhould ſign; the one is in Sir Leoline Jenkins's hand, and bears very hard on Monmouth. The other is in the King's hand, and is much more delicate.

PART I. BOOK I. 1683.

mediately recalled it *, when he recollected the uſe to which it might be turned againſt his friends. Upon this account, he was baniſhed the court, and retired abroad. Monmouth's ſurrender and confeſſion aroſe from a refinement of Lord Halifax †, in whom he confided, and who wiſhed to keep him at court, in order to balance that aſcendancy in Charles's councils, which he foreſaw the Duke of York would aſſume, upon the ſuppreſſion of all oppoſition to his brother: A ſcheme which, like moſt other refinements, failed in the execution. Monmouth fixed a ſecond time his reſidence in Holland, where he was received with kindneſs and reſpect ‡, and treated even with an affectation of familiarity by the Prince and Princeſs of Orange; partly with a view in that Prince to ingratiate himſelf with the whig-party in England, and partly becauſe he knew that Charles's ſecret fondneſs ſtill belied his outward reſentment againſt his ſon. From this period, the court of the Prince of Orange became a place of refuge for every perſon who had either oppoſed the Duke of York's ſucceſſion, or appeared to be attached to the Duke of Monmouth. The Duke of York wrote to his daughter the Princeſs of Orange, complaining of the attentions ſhewn to Monmouth, but in vain. Moſt of thoſe who had followed Monmouth's fortunes, or who deſired to do ſo, were ſoon after provided for by the Prince, in the Britiſh regiments which were in the ſervice of the Dutch; circumſtances which were only wanting to alienate for ever the affections of the two royal brothers from the Prince. They even believed, that he had given encouragement to

* Examination of Colonel Godfrey and Anthony Rowe, in the Lords journals, December 22, 1679.

† Mr. Hampden's examination, in Lords journals, December 1679.

‡ D'Avaux.

that

that part of the conſpiracy in which the great men had been engaged; and they refuſed a viſit to juſtify himſelf, which he offered*. 1683.

Exceſs in national expreſſions of loyalty.

Attempts unſucceſsfully made againſt government always confirm that authority which they were meant to control. Amidſt theſe trials and executions, and others of leſs note, the kingdom ſeemed to ring with joy, and the churches to be filled with devotion; thoſe who were ſuſpected of connections with the conſpirators expreſſing, beyond all others, their abhorrence of the conſpiracy. The rejoicings for the marriage of the Duke's daughter with Prince George of Denmark, which happened during the executions, added to the appearance of the general tranſport. Addreſſes were preſented from every quarter of the kingdom, expreſſing not only loyalty, but an entire ſurrender of the independence of the ſubject; addreſſes in which many concurred from ſincerity, others in order to conceal the want of it, and which none dared to oppoſe. The univerſity of Oxford, from whoſe knowledge of ancient literature better things might have been expected, paſſed their famous decree, which carried the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance to a height of folly. The court, the pulpit, the bench, the bar, all adopted in public the ſame principles: Had outward appearances given a true picture of the nation, every honour of Engliſh liberty was laid at the foot of the throne.

Mean dependance of Charles upon France.

In the mean time the differences of Charles with his ſubjects and his family, increaſed his dependance upon France; ſo that during the reſt of his reign England was little more than a province of that kingdom. When the Lady Anne's marriage was projected with the Prince of Denmark, Charles and the Duke of York previouſly

* Appendix to this Book.

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1683. consulted the French King about it, assuring him that they would not proceed if it was disagreeable to him: Lord Sunderland, to pay his court, proposed that she should rather be given in marriage to the Prince of Rhode sur Yon, in order to tie Louis and the royal family faster together. When Lord Danby was released from the Tower, Barillon complained of it, as of an injury of which his master was entitled to complain, and was hardly appeased, when the Duke of York pointed out to him in excuse the contempt of parliament, which was implied in admitting a person to bail who had been imprisoned by parliament*. In the year 1684 Louis even discontinued the last term of the subsidy, which was due to Charles by the private treaty of the year 1681; either deeming his friendship of no use to him any longer, or that a reconciliation between him and the Prince of Orange was become impossible†.

Great power of the King and Duke. 1684.

After the defeat of the exclusion, the banishment of Monmouth, the humiliation of the whigs, and the exaltation of the tories, all eyes were turned to the Duke of York, in whose cause so many victories had been obtained. The whigs opposed not his influence, lest they might provoke it to fall upon themselves: The tories naturally supported it, because they had a claim to his gratitude. And, in the attentions which both paid to the Duke, the King was over-shadowed. Oates, the informer of the popish plot, was condemned to pay a hundred thousand pounds for injurious words spoken against the Duke; people forgetting in the vileness of the man, that the punishment was contrary to the clause of the great charter, which provided that no man should be fined to his utter ruin. A similar sentence for the

* Vid. Appendix to this Book.

† Vid. Appendix to next Book.

same

1684.

ſame crime was pronounced againſt Mr. Dutton, a man of character, and who had been a member of the late parliaments. Some private letters of Sir Samuel Bernardiſton, which reflected upon government, were intercepted at the poſt-houſe; and for theſe he was fined 10,000*l.* As he had been foreman of the jury which acquitted Shafteſbury, his former, more than his recent fault, was thought to have drawn this puniſhment upon him. Men became afraid to indulge their own thoughts, when they found that their converſations in company, and the ſecrets of their private correſpondence, were turned into inſtruments of their ruin: And a high ſpirited nation was irritated by the frequency of puniſhments, which individuals could neither bear to be inflicted upon themſelves, nor to ſee inflicted upon others. Jeffreys, in his law circuits through England, gleaned up many of the charters of boroughs which had not been hitherto ſurrendered. When moſt of them were in the hands of the crown, Charles publiſhed a declaration, in which he thanked his ſubjects for the truſt they had repoſed in him; and promiſed not to abuſe it: Thanks and promiſes, which were received as mere forms, by the wiſe, and, to the brave, appeared to be inſults. Every thing now marked to the nation, the neglect into which the regulations of parliament were fallen: The Duke, notwithſtanding the teſt-act, reſumed his office of Lord high Admiral; In contempt of the Houſe of Commons, proſecutions were directed againſt Williams, the ſpeaker of the two late Houſes, for warrants which he had iſſued by orders of the Houſe: The popiſh Lords, who had been committed to the Tower by warrant of the Houſe of Peers, were admitted to bail: The three years elapſed, when, by the ſecond triennial act, a new parliament ſhould have been called; but the act was diſregarded. All theſe things were imputed, juſtly or unjuſtly,

PART I. BOOK I. 1684.

unjuſtly, to the influence of the Duke. And a ſaying of the famous Waller was repeated, "That, ſince the "parliament would not allow the Duke to aſſume the "crown after the King's death, the King was reſolved "he ſhould reign during the King's life."

Project for a popiſh army in Ireland.

Charles, by advice of his brother, took advantage of the preſent ſubmiſſion to his will, to form a project, which, had it not been interrupted by the revolution, muſt have deſtroyed for ever the liberties of Britain. The Duke of Ormond kept a regular army in Ireland of 10,000 men, and a militia of 20,000, both ſupported by the revenues of that kingdom, and commanded by proteſtant officers. The experience of many centuries in England had diſcovered, that all the humiliations of the crown had ariſen from the want of a mercenary army attached ſolely to itſelf. It was therefore now reſolved, to new-model the Iriſh army, and to place popiſh in the room of the proteſtant officers, in order to rear up a military power, which might be attached to the King by the ties of a military dependence, and to his brother by thoſe of a common religion. The Duke of Ormond was recalled from Ireland: Lord Rocheſter was appointed to ſucceed him. But, in order to diſappoint the zeal which Rocheſter was known to entertain for the church of England, Lord Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel, a man who loved bold ends, even for the ſake of their boldneſs, not ſcrupulous about means, and a Roman Catholic, was intended to act as general, with abſolute and independent power over the army. Yet, heſitating and fearful, and perhaps from reſpect to Ormond and Rocheſter aſhamed to open their plan, the King and the Duke only wrote to Ormond, that alterations were to be made in many departments of government in Ireland, which made it neceſſary for him to quit it; and informed Rocheſter, that the nomination of military

officers was to be no longer any part of the duty of a Lord Lieutenant *.

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The Duke of York, who acted continually by ſyſtem, adviſed his brother to ſtrengthen himſelf alſo in Scotland; and the modelling of that country was committed by Charles to his care. It was one of the Duke's favourite opinions, that the Highlanders were the beſt reſources of the kingdom, both againſt rebellion within, and invaſion from without: He therefore contrived different plans for embodying them, and keeping up their martial ſpirit †; and, by civilities and favours to their chieftains, rivetted many of them to himſelf by an attachment which ended only with his life. He alſo diſmiſſed all men who were ſuſpected of whig principles from the offices into which many of them had been admitted at the end of Lauderdale's adminiſtration; and placed the keeneſt tories he could find in their ſtead ‡.

Scotland modelled.

Amidſt theſe meaſures and projects, Charles was unhappy: His uſual gaiety forſook him: Rudeneſs to perſons around him ſucceeded to the manners of the beſt bred man in Europe. The reflection that he had no child to ſucceed him; the court which, even during his life, he ſaw paid to his ſucceſſor; the abſence of his favourite ſon, whom, with all his errors, he ſtill loved, tormented him. His knowledge of the Duke's character and intentions, with the conſequences which he foreſaw from them, added fears for the future to his preſent anxiety. After ſome difference in ſentiment between them,

Charles unhappy.

* The correſpondence upon this project is ſubjoined to Carte's life of the Duke of Ormond, and is curious. Vid. alſo Appendix to this Book.

† Records of Scottiſh privy-council.

‡ The commiſſion which altered the privy-council is in the records of the Scottiſh privy-council, 5th July 1684. Charles uſes this expreſſion in it, "That he had removed thoſe who were luke-warm."

he

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he was one day overheard to ſay, "I am too old to go "to my travels a ſecond time; brother, you may, if "you will."

The Duke having at another time adviſed him againſt frequenting public diverſions ſo much as he did, on account of the danger to which his life was expoſed at them, he anſwered with a malignant pleaſantry, "Pooh, "brother, do you think any body will kill me, to make "way for you*?" He was in miſerable ſtraits too for money, brought upon him by the careleſſneſs and profligacy of all around him, of which himſelf had firſt ſet the example†: But, above all, he was hurt by a diſcovery which he made towards the end of his reign, that Louis the XIVth, in whoſe cauſe he had drawn ſo many misfortunes upon himſelf, had been intriguing with his ſubjects againſt him, and had even lately, upon a falſe ſurmiſe of his intending to call a parliament, formed a deſign to publiſh the ſecret treaty of Dover, in order to make him for ever deteſtable in the eyes of his ſubjects, and of the proteſtant part of Europe‡.

Perhaps too, the remembrance of the popularity of his younger days, contraſted with the ſituation in which he at preſent ſtood with regard to a great part of his people, might recur upon his mind. He endeavoured to loſe all reflection among his women; a habit which only increaſed his gloom, becauſe it added the uneaſineſs which ariſes from idleneſs to that which already tormented him.

Intrigues of Sunderland.

In this ſtate of the King's mind, Sunderland took advantage of the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth's fondneſs for her lover. He perſuaded her that the retreat of the Duke of York into Scotland, whoſe unpopularity in-

* Lord Fountainhall's manuſcript.

† Appendix to this Book. ‡ Ibid.

jured

jured his brother, and the bringing back into the King's preſence a ſon whom he loved, were the only means to reſtore him to his uſual tranquillity of mind. Charles received the laſt part of the propoſal with pleaſure; becauſe he had ſecretly correſponded with Monmouth through means of Lord Halifax: And he aſſented to his brother's removal, becauſe the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, who had always maintained connections with the whig party, flattered him, that ſuch a meaſure would reconcile that party to his government, without injuring the rights of his ſucceſſor. Sunderland grafted on theſe changes a project of bringing about a reconciliation between Charles and the Prince of Orange, which was managed by the Duke of Monmouth in Holland; and the Prince, another for detaching Charles from his connections with France, which was conducted by Halifax in England *. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, Monmouth came over, and was admitted † privately to an interview by his father. Charles was taking meaſures to recall his ſon, and to ſend his brother to Scotland, when, by a ſudden apoplexy, his intentions were prevented. He recovered: But after an intermiſſion of two days, a ſecond fit carried him off ‡. The laſt action of his life was to reconcile himſelf to the church of Rome ‖. Suſpicions inſtantly ran, that he was poiſoned by the popiſh party, but without any appearance of truth, and merely on account of the critical time of his death, and

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* Carte. D'Avaux. Duke of Monmouth's memorandum in Welwood.

† Burnet. Carte. Vid. alſo the Duke of York's letter to the Prince of Orange of December 2, 1684, in Appendix to this Book.

‡ Declaration of phyſicians in the books of privy council, Feb. 3, 4.

‖ Father Huddleſton's account of the King's laſt hours proves that he was not reconciled to the church of Rome until that period. Vid. alſo a very particular account of his death by Barillon in Appendix.

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becauſe it was the intereſt of that party, that the throne ſhould be filled by a Prince who profeſſed their religion. The death of Charles was regretted more on account of the hatred which many bore to his ſucceſſor, than of the love entertained for himſelf.

The ſame contradiction of report which has thrown obſcurity on moſt of the actions of this Prince's life, attended the laſt moments of it. For while ſome reported *, that in anſwer to a meſſage from the Queen, who begged his forgiveneſs before he died in whatever ſhe had offended him, he ſaid, "Alas, poor lady! ſhe "never offended me: I have too often injured her." Others believed, that forgetful of his people and family, his laſt words were ſpent in recommending Nell Gwyn, the play-actreſs, to his brother's protection †.

Perhaps a review of this agreeable and able, but inglorious Prince's conduct, may ſhow Princes and private perſons alike the truth of a proverb commonly in the mouths of the vulgar, but which ſhould be engraved in the hearts of all, "That honeſty is always the beſt "policy."

* Lord Fountainhall's manuſcript. † Burnet.

APPENDIX

TO

PART I. BOOK I.

UPON the diſſolution of King Charles's laſt parliament, and his appeal to the people, which were conſidered as total breaches between him and parliaments, the Prince of Orange came over to England; but he previouſly ſent Mr. Sidney to aſk the advice of Sir William Temple and Mr. Godolphin about his coming. Their anſwers are in King William's cabinet.

Sir William Temple to the Prince of Orange.—In anſwer to the Prince's aſking his advice about a viſit to King Charles.

Sheen, June 28, 1681.

I DID not think to have met with any thing likely to engage me in any further public thoughts for the reſt of my life, after my laſt return to my own domeſtic here, nor could any thing elſe have done it for ſo much as an hour, but an abſolute command Mr. Sidney brought me from your Highneſs upon his arrival here. He tells me, ſome few days before he came away, you fell into ſome thoughts whether a journey at this time to our court might contribute any thing towards the redreſs of that ill poſture wherein the public affairs of Chriſtendom ſeem to be at preſent, and which your Highneſs apprehends will ſoon grow more deſperate; and whether it may not be neceſſary to prevent the effects of ſome ill offices which you think have lately been done between

his Majeſty and your Highneſs; and that upon this point you are pleaſed to deſire my opinion, and that I will write it to you myſelf. I muſt tell your Highneſs in the firſt place, that ſince I came down hither about the time I left the council, which is near ſix months ago, I have never been once at court, and but once in town, upon a domeſtic occaſion, and that my converſation here has gone no further than my own houſe, or ſome few common viſits of the neighbourhood, by which your Highneſs will eaſily gueſs how ill I can judge of a matter that depends upon the diſpoſition of a court, which has been apt to many changes in a ſhorter time than I have been abſent from it, though perhaps they may be deceived who in that very point ſhall take a meaſure of what is to come by what is paſt. Beſides, whatever opinion I ſhall be of, I cannot at this diſtance give your Highneſs my reaſons for it, which muſt make it look very lame, perhaps, how well ſoever it may be grounded. Yet after this, and much more which might ſerve to excuſe me, ſince Mr. Sidney ſays you will abſolutely have my opinion upon it, I will tell your Highneſs freely, I am not apt to believe you will find at this time what you may propoſe to yourſelf by a journey into England, nor that any diſcourſes between his Majeſty and your Highneſs are likely to end in any mutual ſatisfaction or agreement upon the preſent ſtate of public affairs. And thoſe conſiderations will, I doubt, have an influence upon perſonal diſpoſitions between you. So that all I think can be propoſed from your meeting is, to know more certainly what you are to expect or truſt to from one another, in the courſe of future events and revolutions.

If your Highneſs thinks the knowledge of this, or a trial of the other, be worth your journey, you may I think make ſome judgment of the ſucceſs by reſolving to make

make it a thing of perſonal confidence between his Majeſty and your Highneſs only. You may write to him in a private letter, how ſenſible you are of ſeveral ill offices that you believe have been done you towards his Majeſty; how deſirous you are to juſtify yourſelf, and preſerve his kindneſs and good opinion; and that you can think of no way towards it, without ſeeing him, and having at leaſt ſome few hours diſcourſe in private with him. That though you can be ill ſpared in Holland, and have but little time, yet you will not fail to attend him, if he gives you leave, though it be but for an hour: But in caſe he does, you will owe it wholly to his kindneſs, and beg it may be without communicating it to any perſon about him: That to this end you have ordered Mr. Sidney to deliver him your letter privately, and to beg his anſwer upon it: That in caſe he approve it, he may pleaſe to diſpatch Mr. Sidney over in a yacht, as if it were upon the affair of the troops, and you will come away immediately in it, and hope it may be for his Majeſty's ſatisfaction as well as your own.

I confeſs I am of opinion that if it be done or attempted at this time, it ſhould be this way and no other. And whether it ſucceed or no, that your Highneſs may in a great meaſure judge from his Majeſty's anſwer, what iſſue you were to have expected from it. From this place your Highneſs can expect nothing elſe beſides this bare diſcharge of your commands, and the conſtant wiſhes and prayers for your ſafety and health, and the encreaſe of your honour and your family, wherein no man can be concerned, with a more hearty devotion and truth, than your Highneſs's moſt obedient, and moſt faithful humble ſervant.

Lord Godolphin to the Prince of Orange—upon the ſame ſubject.

London, June 28, 1681.

MR. Sidney has told me that your Highneſs does me ſtill the honour to preſerve me in your good opinion, and are ſo juſt as to believe me as full of zeal for your ſervice, and as much devoted to your intereſts, as truly and ſincerely from my heart I am, and I hope always ſhall continue to be; but I am not very good at compliments and great expreſſions, and if I am not deceived your Highneſs cares as little to be troubled with them; Mr. Sidney has told me farther that your Highneſs had ſpoken to him of a thought you have lately had, that it might be of good uſe for you to come over into England at this time, and had given him leave to acquaint me with it and to know my opinion of it: I confeſs I was very well pleaſed to hear him ſay it was your Highneſs's own thought, and that you ſeem'd to have an inclination to it; for my part I have wiſh'd for it a great while, and I think it more neceſſary now than ever, for I am ſatisfied there is nothing that can ſo infallibly reſtore that good underſtanding between the King and your Highneſs which is ſo neceſſary for you both, and which every day (to my great trouble) I ſee more and more likely to decline, and I am afraid will be quite loſt at laſt, if your Highneſs will not pleaſe to make uſe of all your prudence, and all your temper (and perhaps ſome of your addreſs too), to prevent this misfortune. Thus far Mr. Sidney and I were of a mind. We agreed that it muſt needs be well for your Highneſs to come over at this time, but we differed a little upon the pretext you were to take for it; he ſeem'd to think it would be beſt for your Highneſs to aſk the King's leave

that

that you might come over to wait upon him, as a viſit of compliment only, without pretending any buſineſs at all, which at another time might perhaps be the beſt way: But at this time, conſidering how things ſtand between the King and your Highneſs, the difficulties that have riſen about Mr. Skelton's going into Holland, and Mr. Sidney's commanding the troops there, I was of opinion that it would look a great deal better, and I thought be more agreeable to your inclinations, to ſpeak out plainly upon this occaſion, and to write to the King that you found yourſelf ſo much troubled and concerned for the diſſatisfaction which his Majeſty ſeemed to have at your proceedings in the buſineſs of Mr. Skelton, and ſo apprehenſive leſt any other occaſion might happen to increaſe it, that you could have no ſatisfaction in your own mind till you had begg'd his Majeſty's leave to come and wait upon him, and endeavour to ſet yourſelf right in his good opinion; and if your Highneſs would pleaſe to add to this, ſuch aſſurances of your zeal for the King's ſervice and his greatneſs as you ſhall think fit; of your deſire to be acquainted with the meaſures he propoſes to take, that you might be able to aſſiſt him in them as far as lies in your power; and of your deſire likewiſe to eſtabliſh a good correſpondence with thoſe whom the King is pleaſed to truſt and employ in his buſineſs; upon theſe advances to the King I am perſuaded your Highneſs might come over hither with great advantage; and the countenance and the kindneſs which the King will ſhew you, finding you in this temper, join'd to the love and eſteem and the natural inclination which people have for you here, would preſently give your Highneſs ſuch an influence upon every body (even the miniſters themſelves) that you would be able to give what turn you pleaſed to moſt of our affairs here that are of the greateſt importance: At leaſt this is my opinion of the matter, which

if

if I have given too bluntly or imperfectly to your Highneſs, I do moſt humbly beg your pardon for it. I ſhould not have preſumed to do it all, but that Mr. Sidney made me underſtand it was your Highneſs's expreſs pleaſure and command, which ſhall always be moſt readily obeyed by me with the greateſt reſpect and duty imaginable.

This viſit gave an alarm to the Duke of York in Scotland, who ſuſpected it might have created a reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Orange at his expence. In the Depot at Verſailles, there is the following letter from him to Monſieur Barillon on this ſubject.

Tranſlation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, without date, 1681; *received* 26 *July with Mr. Barillon's diſpatches.—His joy at the late ſecret treaty.—His uneaſineſs on account of the Prince of Orange's coming to England.*

YOU will eaſily believe it was with a great deal of ſatisfaction I learnt that affairs are ſo happily concluded between the two Kings; I hope there will be no miſunderſtanding for the future. You may be aſſured, I ſhall always think it my duty to prevent its happening; and that their friends and mine will be of the ſame opinion.

I was much ſurpriſed to learn that the Prince of Orange was upon the eve of his departure for London; I knew nothing of it, till by the laſt poſt I received a letter from the King of England, which orders me not to take any umbrage at this journey, becauſe the Prince of Orange ſhall not oblige him to change the meaſures he has taken.

I have wrote to him afreſh on this ſubject, as I thought convenient for my intereſt, and in the manner you could wiſh: I have alſo adviſed my friends to be alert; ſo I hope this journey will not occaſion any prejudice to us. Be perſuaded that I will always do my duty for your maſter's ſervice.

The French court were equally uneaſy at this journey.

July 21, 1681, Barillon writes that Charles had made an apology to him for conſenting to the Prince of Orange's viſit; adding, that the French court ſhould ſee it would make no difference upon the meaſures he had taken.

On July 24, Barillon writes, that having expreſſed his fears to the King about this viſit, Charles, among other things ſaid,—"I entreat you to be my pledge with the King my brother, and to anſwer for me that I will not enter into any thing which can diſpleaſe him; it being always underſtood, that he is not to attack the Low Countries; you know that that is the foundation of our union."

Barillon writes Auguſt 11, 1681, that the Prince of Orange had preſſed the King for a parliament, and that the King and he were on bad terms.

Auguſt 25, 1681, he writes that the Prince of Orange was often locked up with Lord Ruſſel and Sir William Jones, that he was much in public, and was become very popular by his journey.

September 25, 1681, he writes, that the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth told him, that the Prince of Orange, whilſt in England, had preſſed her to help on the excluſion.

October 1, 1681, he writes, that the Prince of Orange, whilſt in England, had in vain ſolicited the King for an union of England and Holland againſt France.

November 19, there is in the Depot, a letter from the Duke of York from Scotland to Barillon, entreating him to prevent the King from calling a parliament.

The Prince of Orange's viſit could not fail to be unſucceſsful, not only on account of Charles's connections with France, but on account of private piques between the King and the Prince. The following letter from Mr. Sidney (afterwards Lord Romney) to the Prince, will beſt explain theſe.

Letter Mr. Sidney (afterwards Lord Romney) to the Prince of Orange.—State of King Charles's court.—Piques between the King and Prince.

London, June 28, 1681.

I WRIT to your Highneſs by the laſt poſt, but had ſo little time to do it in, that I doubt I gave you but an imperfect account of our affairs; I ſhall now ſay ſomething more to your Highneſs, and will begin with what concerns yourſelf. It is very plain, that you have had very ill offices done you to the King; they make him believe that your Highneſs is of the party that is moſt againſt him; that you have a conſtant correſpondence with thoſe (they call) his enemies; that you drive a contrary intereſt; in ſhort, I believe there are ſome in the cabinet council that are deſirous enough to ſee a breach between the King and your Highneſs. I told my Lord Halifax and my Lord Hide, in plain terms, that I was of that opinion; they anſwered, that they could not

not imagine there was ſuch a villain and ſuch a fool too amongſt them, for it would not only deſtroy this nation and all the royal family, but all Europe. I am apt to believe that theſe two Lords are not ſo inclined, but that they would be glad to ſee a good underſtanding between the King and your Highneſs, eſpecially my Lord Halifax; who a Saturday morning did to me make great profeſſions of his being entirely in your intereſt, and ſaid, you were the only foundation one could build upon: That what he had done laſt winter was to carry on your intereſt, and for his part he would never think of any other. I told him, I was very glad to hear him ſay ſo, for that I was ſure he could do your Highneſs conſiderable ſervice if he would; upon which he ſolemnly promiſed he would do his beſt. I then informed him how matters had paſſed between your Highneſs and this court within theſe ſix months, and left him to judge whether you had reaſon to be ſatisfied or no, eſpecially in their laſt proceedings about Mr. Skelton: He ſaid, as to that matter, all was reſolved of before he came to town. I anſwered, all was not yet concluded, and if he had any reſpect for you, he would do well to ſhow it; he anſwered me, he would try what could be done.—He and my Lord Hide do both complain of your letters being too high and too ſharp, and ſay that if you had writ in a more gentle ſtile, it would have had a better effect with the King. I told them that I thought your Highneſs was not much to be wondered at, for taking that buſineſs of Mr. Skelton's and ſeveral others, ſomething to heart, and if they would ſpeak ſincerely, I was ſure they would be of my mind. Theſe Lords ſay, that I am very likely to contribute a great deal towards a breach between the King and the Prince: I told them I had rather be hanged. Their reaſon is, that the King is reſolved never to give his conſent to my having the com-

mand of the troops; that if your Highneſs and I did perſiſt in it, his Majeſty would take it ill of your Highneſs, and never be kind or reconciled to me. As to the firſt, I told him, the King could not be ſo unjuſt as to be angry with your Highneſs for giving me an employment, when you thought I was in his favour, and being you had given it me, you could not well take it away without my doing ſomething to deſerve it, which as yet your Highneſs was ignorant of. As to myſelf, I had little reaſon to expect much kindneſs from the King, being changed as he was in nine months time, without having any reaſon for it; that in September laſt, his Majeſty told me he had rather have me at the head of the troops than any man in England; and many other things he promiſed towards the advancement of my fortune, which he hath not obſerved, but hath done much the contrary, and nobody hath yet told me how I have deſerved it: I added, that I had ſpent a great deal of money and time in his ſervice; had ventured my life as often as moſt people had done for him, and now was very ill requited; therefore I hoped his Majeſty would not be diſpleaſed at my keeping an employment that was an honour to me, and would be a ſubſiſtance, being he did not think of doing any thing for me himſelf. This and a great deal more I told them I would ſay to the King, when he would do me the honour to ſpeak with me, which he hath not done yet, and I imagine he ſtays till he hath an anſwer of his laſt letter to your Highneſs, for they think that will prevail much upon you. I ſhall be guided and governed in this and in every thing by your Highneſs, as long as I am upon earth, therefore pray let me have your commands. The King and his miniſters ſeem to be very kind to me, I doubt it is not real; but they hope by fair words to perſuade me to lay myſelf, and all that I have at the King's feet, which I confeſs

confeſs I have no mind to do. I hope your Highneſs's kindneſs to me will never be prejudicial to you, for that would be an eternal affliction to me; hitherto I know it hath not, for though the King and his miniſters are a little angry for the preſent, yet I can aſſure you it hath done you no harm in the nation, but a good deal the contrary; and the King's ſending Mr. Skelton, and your oppoſing him, hath done the King more hurt, and your Highneſs more good, than any thing that happened theſe twelve months.

I will now make your Highneſs a ſhort deſcription of our court, and of the perſons in it. Mr. Godolphin, Mr. May, and two or three more, are ſtill very honeſt, but have little power with the King; the others are great rogues, and betray their maſter every day: They make him believe by their addreſſes that his affairs in the kingdom are in a very good poſture; which is all wrong, for now I underſtand them, I find they ſignify nothing, and they grow every day more and more ridiculous; nobody hath any credit but the Duke's creatures, and they ſtudy what is good for the Duke and themſelves, but do not conſider what is good for the King or the nation, and the affairs abroad never enter into their heads. My Lord Halifax is highly incenſed againſt the Houſe of Commons, and muſt ſtick to the court (for he hath not a friend any where elſe), and therefore he is obliged to comply ſometimes againſt his inclination; my Lord Hide is for what the Duke would have, right or wrong. Mr. Seymour is very violent, deſpairs of being well with the King, if he be well with his people; and therefore does endeavour every day by his counſels to make the breach irreconcilable, and I do verily believe he does all he can to make the King and your Highneſs fall out. All theſe things I have talked over with Sir William Temple and Mr. Godolphin, who I am confident are as much yours

yours as ever, and by their letters you will find they are of opinion that your coming over will be of great advantage to you;—they differ ſomething in the manner, but we all agree that there being a miſunderſtanding between the King and your Highneſs, and it being likely to grow worſe and worſe, your preſence will be neceſſary to ſet all things right, which may do great good, and we do not ſee which way it can do you any harm; we all think that the miniſters would not be glad of it, and therefore it will be requiſite that this buſineſs paſſes only between your Highneſs and the King. My Lord Halifax I believe would not oppoſe it, becauſe he ſaid the other day that he thought your coming over might be of uſe. I took no notice of it, and it quickly paſſed over; it may be he will never think more of it; but by what he ſaid you may eaſily ſuppoſe that he would not be againſt it if it ſhould be propoſed to him. I delivered a compliment from your Highneſs to the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, which ſhe took extreamly well, but it will do you little good, for ſhe hath no more credit with the King, and theſe miniſters are perſuading the King to ſend her away, and think by it to reconcile themſelves to the people. My Lord Feverſham hath more of the King's perſonal kindneſs than any body, Mr. Legge hath a great deal; but which is moſt extraordinary is the favour the Queen is in. It was all about the town that the King would not ſee me, and was reſolved to break the troops if I had the command of them. Mr. Seymour ſays, By God the King muſt break them, and the Prince of Orange muſt not gain his point; my Lord Hide ſays no ſuch thing, for he knows the King cannot do it, but he endeavours ſtill to perſuade me to ſubmit to the King; tells me I ſhall have great matters done for me; that it will be unpleaſant to me to have this command againſt the King's conſent, and what is moſt to be conſidered,

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it will be prejudicial to your Highneſs. I cannot make any certain judgment of this affair till the King hath ſpoke to me, which I think he does not know how to do; I have been perpetually at his elbow expecting what he would ſay, but he cannot bring it out; I fancy it goes againſt his nature to ſay he was very kind to me laſt year, but hath changed his mind, he does not know why.

One of the views of the Prince of Orange's journey was to bring the King to join in an aſſociation with the Dutch, the Emperor, Spain, and many German Princes, to ſtop the farther encroachments of France. After the Prince was gone, Vanbeuningen the Dutch, and Ronquillo the Spaniſh ambaſſadors renewed the propoſal to King Charles. Barillon writes, Nov. 13, 1681, that Charles was to concert with him the anſwer he ſhould give them.

The following diſpatch will ſhow what that anſwer was, as well as the crooked ways of Charles's politics.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, —Charles's deceiving anſwer to a propoſal for an aſſociation to ſtop the further encroachments of France.—In the Depot.

November 15, 1681.

I HAVE had a long conference with my Lord Hyde upon the terms in which his Britannic Majeſty's anſwer to Vanbeuning ſhould be conceived. He told me, that though the King of England did not enter into the league, he could not avoid explaining himſelf as if he intended it hereafter; and for this reaſon he thought himſelf

ſelf obliged to anſwer, that when the Emperor, the King of Denmark, and the principal Princes of the empire ſhall have entered into the league of aſſociation, he will be ready alſo on his part to enter into it. I inſiſted that inſtead of the principal Princes of the empire, they ſhould ſubſtitute that when the Emperor and the empire jointly ſhall have entered into the league, the King of England would be alſo diſpoſed to do the ſame thing.

My Lord Hyde anſwered, that the King his maſter's intention being always the ſame with regard to your Majeſty, and he not willing in any manner to enter into the league, nor to aſſemble his parliament as Vanbeuning deſired, it was neceſſary to make choice of terms which did not clearly ſhew how far he was from liſtening to ſuch propoſals, and that what he ſaid left him at liberty to act as he pleaſed."

In the above letter of the 13th of November, 1681, Barillon writes that Charles had avowed to him, that he had promiſed to Spain to call a parliament, and give them aſſiſtance, but that he intended neither.

And in another letter of the 22d of December, 1681, Barillon ſays, that Charles in talking of his promiſe to the Spaniards to call a parliament, uſed theſe words: "I have no intention to call a parliament; theſe are devils who intend my ruin."

During the ſummer of the year 1681, the French were making continual encroachments on the ſide of Germany and Flanders. It appears from Barillon's diſpatches, that during theſe, the King and Lord Hyde, who alone knew of the late money treaty, were in the moſt cruel diſtreſs between the Spaniards preſſing for the help to which they were entitled by their treaty with Charles,

Charles, and France threatening that if it was given, ſhe would withdraw her ſubſidy promiſed by the late verbal treaty. The diſpatches are full of Charles's ſtrong, but fruitleſs remonſtrances of the engagement of the French court in the late verbal treaty, that the Low Countries ſhould not be touched, and of the diſgrace and unpopularity at home, both with his miniſters and people, which he ſaid he knew he was drawing upon himſelf by his inactivity.

The extreme meanneſs to which he was reduced, may be ſeen in the following diſpatch concerning Luxemburgh, the key to Germany and the Netherlands, which the French reſolved to add to their other uſurpations, and to give a new bribe to procure Charles's conſent.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth. —A million of livres to be given to Charles, for allowing France to ſeize Luxembourg.

November 17, 1681.

"IT appears to me that to execute your Majeſty's laſt orders, what I have principally to do is to engage the King of England not to oppoſe your Majeſty's deſign of having Luxembourg as an equivalent for all your pretenſions on the Low Countries. I have not omitted any of the reaſons on which the juſtice of your Majeſty's pretenſion is founded, any more than thoſe which render the acquiſition of Luxembourg neceſſary to the ſecurity of your kingdom. I enlarged on the trifling jealouſy which this place, ſituated as it is, ought to give to England and the States General.

I ſpoke yeſterday to Lord Hyde; thinking the time would not admit of the negociation being prolonged, and

that I ought to point out to this miniſter clearly the advantages the King of England might obtain from your Majeſty by favouring his pretenſion; I alſo repreſented to him that the King of England would have in his own hands the repoſe of the Low Countries, and that your Majeſty would make him arbitrator of the treaty which ſhould be made for that purpoſe; I ſhewed him the inconveniences that would attend an oppoſition to the deſigns of your Majeſty, the execution of which would be difficult to prevent; in ſhort, I ſet forth all the inconveniences of a parliament and a war, and at the ſame time the ſafety and utility of an union with your Majeſty. I have not yet explained myſelf clearly upon the ſum that I am impowered to offer; it ſeemed to me ſufficient to commence the negociation, and to get the King of England, if I can, to enter into a ſecret concert with me upon the affair of Luxembourg. I ſhall not let the occaſion ſlip to conclude whenever it preſents; I know well the importance of it. Lord Hyde ſhewed immediately his uneaſineſs at what I had ſaid to him about your Majeſty's reſolution of having Luxembourg; he endeavoured to ſhew me the conſequences of a war in which almoſt all Europe would be united againſt your Majeſty. I ſaid to him, that I much doubted when your Majeſty's intentions ſhould be well known, whether the Princes of the empire, the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, or even the States General, would enter into a war to hinder your Majeſty from having Luxembourg; that your reſolution was taken, and that you would not change it; that there was reaſon to believe that if a war was made with your Majeſty for this ſingle town, ſituated as it is, they would make it although your Majeſty had not attempted the acquiſition, and that therefore it was better to prevent your enemies deſigns. Lord Hyde repreſented to me, that if your Majeſty's deſign of having Luxembourg

bourg ſhould put the King of England under the neceſſity of aſſembling the parliament (as he feared it would), it was the moſt dangerous thing that could happen to the Duke of York; and if his ruin followed it, your Majeſty would ſuffer a much greater loſs than that of the town of Luxembourg. By all Lord Hyde ſaid, it appeared to me to be his opinion, that the King his maſter ſhould make a merit to your Majeſty of a thing which he would have a good deal of trouble to hinder; he nevertheleſs made a ſhew of a great apprehenſion leſt the advice of Lord Halifax, and the other miniſters whom the King of England might conſult, ſhould prevail over his, and put affairs here in a condition, to be without remedy.

I converſed this day with the King of England at Lady Portſmouth's, I found him prepared by Lord Hyde upon what I had to ſay to him; he expreſſed a great chagrin to hear that your Majeſty had taken the reſolution to have Luxembourg as an equivalent for your pretenſions; he told me it would entirely diſconcert all the meaſures he had taken in his affairs, and that all the inconveniences and embarraſſments he could foreſee from aſſembling the parliament, were leſs than the danger to which he ſhould expoſe himſelf by not calling it, when it ſhould appear that your Majeſty had reſolved to make the town of Luxembourg fall under your power: That if he did not then reſolve to aſſemble his parliament, it would be ſaid he had betrayed the intereſts of England, and ſold your Majeſty the moſt important place in the Low Countries.

I repreſented to this Prince how little reaſon they had, who maintained that Luxembourg was ſo conſiderable a poſt, not being on any river, and incapable to ſerve as a defence to the reſt of the Low Countries, but only fit to hurt your Majeſty. I gave him freely and ſtrongly my

opinion upon the aſſembling the parliament, and that it was not a good means for re-eſtabliſhing his affairs, or preſerving his authority; that the perſons who were evil intentioned to him, would not loſe the occaſion of having him in their hands: That if they gave him ſomething immediately, without impoſing too hard conditions on him, they would impoſe them as ſoon as they could. I ſhewed him the advantages he would draw from a ſtrict union with your Majeſty, and how much it would make him be feared and reſpected by his enemies. I maintained they would make a three days wonder only of Luxembourg, as they had done of Straſbourg; and that afterwards, not only England, but the reſt of Europe, would ſee with pleaſure a peace eſtabliſhed every where; that he might be arbitrator of the ſafety of the Low Countries; and that your Majeſty, independent of that, would enter into all the expedients which could be thought of to eſtabliſh its repoſe for the future. What I ſaid obtained me no other anſwer, and I retired after having told his Britannic Majeſty that I ſhould yet ſay ſomething to my Lord Hyde, upon which he would have reaſon to reflect.

I expected to find a great many difficulties at firſt. I ſhall explain myſelf immediately on the offer your Majeſty has permitted me to make of a million in addition to the ſubſidy for next year; I cannot anſwer for the ſucceſs, and I have ſo often ſeen them take wrong ſteps here, that it would be very imprudent in me to flatter myſelf with being able to perſuade the King of England: What gives me room to hope is, that Lord Hyde has not hid from me, that if his advice is followed, the King his maſter will enter into a ſecret concert with your Majeſty for your having the town of Luxembourg. I think I ſhould have a great advantage in this negociation, if I could let it be known that your Majeſty is willing the augmentation

mentation of two hundred and fifty thouſand livres to each payment ſhall commence from the firſt of laſt October; this would be five hundred thouſand for the two laſt payments of this year. If I have the power, I will not make uſe of it till the laſt extremity."

After much haggling, Charles agreed to allow the French to ſeize Luxembourg, and received a million of livres in return. Barillon writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 1ſt of December, 1681: "After many conferences which I have had with the King of England and Lord Hyde, the propoſals which I made from your Majeſty have been accepted." This bargain was alſo unknown to all but Hyde.

Even private perſons in Britain were prevented by French money at this time from interpoſing againſt the encroachments of France. Barillon writes, June 9th, 1681, that Lord Arran, ſon to the Duke of Hamilton, had offered to raiſe a Scotch regiment for the ſervice of Spain, but that he had ſtopped him by the hopes of money from France.

After the ſtrict union which was formed between Louis, Charles, and the Duke of York, by the private verbal treaty of the year 1681, Louis became indifferent about keeping up his connections with the popular party in England, and informed Barillon of it. Barillon in anſwer wrote him the following letter.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth. —Adviſes Louis not to let the intrigues with the popular party be dropped on account of his late treaty with Charles. —New propoſals from Mr. Montagu.—In the Depot.

September 22, 1681.

"YOUR Majeſty orders me by your laſt diſpatch of the 12th to be very circumſpect not to give umbrage or miſtruſt to the King of England by the connection I have with Mr. Montagu and the other friends to the Duke of Monmouth. I ſhall take every poſſible precaution; but I cannot forbear repreſenting to your Majeſty, that in my way of thinking it is very important to your ſervice not to put out of humour thoſe perſons with whom I have had particular and intimate connections. Your Majeſty knows of what uſe it may be to you hereafter, and how much the cabals in oppoſition to the court are neceſſary to keep the affairs of England in a ſtate convenient for your Majeſty. The correſpondence I have with them renders them more difficult with regard to the court; and is perhaps the beſt and moſt certain means to prevent the King of England changing his conduct to your Majeſty; for as long as the reconciliation is filled with difficulties, and the chiefs of the cabals hold themſelves firm, and believe that in the end the King of England muſt ſubmit himſelf to them, the reconciliation will not be eaſy; but if they perceive a connection between your Majeſty and his Britannic Majeſty, and that at the ſame time the King of England may be brought to make conceſſions, the reunion is poſſible. 'Tis therefore my opinion not to be inactive with regard to them. Beſides, inactivity might perſuade them

them ſtill more, that your Majeſty has taken other meaſures, and has no farther need of them.

Mr. Montagu two days ago aſked a meeting with me; and after a long diſcourſe upon the ſervice he ſays he has done your Majeſty, he told me that he was at preſent in a capacity to do you as conſiderable a ſervice as he had done in accuſing the high Treaſurer; that he would do it with a great deal of zeal, but could not engage in any new affair till the firſt was finiſhed, and till he ſaw himſelf certain of entire and complete payment. That he would not expoſe himſelf to appear frivolous to your Majeſty, and what he had to ſay to me was to put you in a condition not to be hurt by England for a long time: That he would not capitulate with your Majeſty, but refer himſelf to you for ſuch a recompence as you might think he deſerved for what he had to propoſe: But he ſtuck faſt to having poſitive aſſurances of being paid what was due to him, and that without it he could not again hazard his fortune and his head. I preſſed him much to open himſelf further, but it was impoſſible for me to get any thing more from him, except that when he was ſure of his entire payment, your Majeſty would find he was not an impoſture, and that he would not for any thing in the world loſe your Majeſty's eſteem and good graces.

I had at firſt ſome ſuſpicion that Mr. Montagu wanted to diſcover (from the manner I ſhould enter upon matters with him) whether your Majeſty had made alliances with the King of England that could hinder him from taking any other meaſure; but it has appeared ſince to me that he has ſomething ſolid to propoſe which might tend to deſtroy the cabals and intrigues of the Prince of Orange, and prevent their being in the end powerful enough to give law to the King of England and the Duke of York.

Your

Your Majeſty will judge what is convenient for your ſervice; it is not hazarding much to advance a few months the payment of what remains due to Mr. Montagu. It may be thought that if he ſhould be entirely paid, he would be leſs zealous to act, and would not care to expoſe himſelf for your Majeſty's intereſt; but on the other hand, I do not ſee a poſſibility to make him act without ſatisfying him, and I believe he will not find his advantage in abandoning your Majeſty's intereſts, from whom he will always expect a powerful protection, and new advantages when he does new ſervices.

I could not help entering into Mr. Montagu's propoſition, and diſcuſſing it with him, otherwiſe he might have believed me entirely engaged with the court: I nevertheleſs repreſented to him that what he ſaid was of too high a nature, and preſſed him ſtrongly to be more explicit; but he told me he ſhould wait for the orders your Majeſty ſhould give me, and if he was well treated, I ſhould ſee what ſervice he was capable of doing.

I endeavoured to penetrate, through Mrs. Hervey, into what Mr. Montagu had to propoſe, but by what ſhe ſaid, I find he will not truſt her with the matter. I plainly ſee it aims at hindering ſomething important which the Prince of Orange wants to attempt, when it is the leaſt expected, and this may probably be a project of reunion of all the cabals, and a general amneſtie, by which the catholic Lords, and Danby and Shafteſbury may get out of priſon, and the King of England offer on his part to forget all, provided the parliament on theirs will change their conduct with regard to him.

I only ſuſpect this: But I have been informed Lord Halifax has this project in his head, and that he talks on every occaſion, like a man who has no other deſign than to reconcile the King of England with his people.

I have

I have juſt received your Majeſty's diſpatch of the 15th of September, to which was added the extract of a letter from M. d'Avaux; I ſhall direct my conduct agreeably to what your Majeſty preſcribes. There is no doubt but the Prince of Orange will uſe all his efforts to eſtabliſh a ſtrict union between England and the States General, which may hereafter ſerve as a baſis for a league with other Princes, jealous of your Majeſty's greatneſs: As the Prince of Orange is ignorant of what has paſſed for ſome months between your Majeſty and the King of England, he works upon a falſe principle, and believes, that provided the States General enter ſtrongly into engagements againſt your Majeſty, his Britannic Majeſty will have no reaſon not to do the ſame thing; and that the beſt means of reconciling himſelf to his parliament, will be to make a league agreeable to the whole nation. This it is neceſſary to prevent, and for that purpoſe it appears to me, that your Majeſty having made a treaty with the King of England, or, at leaſt, having engaged him by a ſupply of money not to ſeparate himſelf from your intereſts, it only remains to manage properly the party which oppoſes him, in order that the King of England, and thoſe who have his confidence, may not be drawn on, nor find their advantages in failing in the engagements which have been formed.

I think what ought at preſent to be done, is to counteract every ſort of reconciliation between the malecontents and the court, and prevent this reunion which the Prince of Orange has in his head. The people I have dealings with can do much to prevent it. They always receive me well when I enter with them into ſuch meaſures as they deſire; for what they principally fear is your Majeſty's ſupporting the King of England. I ſhall act with a great deal of precaution, and know the importance of not furniſhing any pretence to his Britannic

tannic Majeſty; but I alſo think we ſhould not at ſuch a juncture as the preſent remain with folded arms, and let the Prince of Orange attain his ends without oppoſition.

In waiting for the receipt of your Majeſty's orders upon what Mr. Montagu ſaid to me, I ſhall endeavour to manage his ſpirit, and draw from him ſomething more than what he has as yet told me: He is a man who may be of very great help, and by whom I can do more than by many others. To ſpeak the truth, he is not contented, and thinks he has been neglected; but all this may be removed, if your Majeſty gives orders for the payment of what is due to him."

Whilſt Charles was trafficking with France for yielding to her one of the chief barriers of the Low Countries, one of the heads of the popular party in England was attempting the ſame traffic with regard to the ſame object. The following letter from Monſieur Barillon to Louis the XIVth, on this ſubject, is in the *Depot* at Verſailles.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from M. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, November 24, 1681.—*Montagu propoſes that France ſhould get Luxembourg by means of the popular party in England.*

"I SAW Mr. Montagu two days ago. The anſwer given to Vanbeuning has partly diſſipated his ſuſpicions, and he talks to me like one who has a great deſire to enter into ſome new affair. He told me it appeared, from all the ſteps taken for ſome time paſt, your Majeſty had formed a deſign of having Luxembourg; that if it was ſo, and I could ſpeak confidentially to him, he would do

do his utmoſt with his friends to hinder the parliament from doing any thing againſt your Majeſty, or giving one farthing to help the Spaniards; that to this end meaſures ought to be taken in good time, and things not delayed till the miniſters and the Prince of Orange had formed all their cabals to cauſe their deſign to ſucceed. That I knew how he had acted in the affair of the Treaſurer and diſbanding the army: That the preſent matter was leſs difficult, provided they took their meaſures well. That it was neceſſary he ſhould connect himſelf with five or ſix members of the greateſt credit in the Houſe of Commons, and engage them to oppoſe the deſigns of the court; but they would not do a thing by halves. That an union ſhould be made which would laſt, and which might put the parliament in a ſtate of not hurting your Majeſty for a long time: That this might be done by gaining the principal people in parliament, and doing ſomething favourable for the commerce in general of England. The concluſion of his diſcourſe was, that your Majeſty might take Luxembourg and perhaps ſome other place if it was concerted with thoſe who could lead the Houſe of Commons, and hinder the reſolutions which the court wiſhed ſhould be taken there. I told Mr. Montagu that this teſtimony of his good will could not but be agreeable to your Majeſty; that I could aſſure him a ſecret intelligence would be very willingly entered into with him; that though I believed your Majeſty would not be againſt receiving Luxembourg as an equivalent for your pretenſions, I did not know that you had a formal deſign to become maſter of it, nor did I think you would do it by force: That though I knew by experience what five or ſix leading men could do in parliament when they acted in concert, I doubted if they could be able to reſtrain the impetuoſity of the Houſe of Commons, when they were animated by the complaints of the

Spaniards, and by the artifices of thoſe who wanted them to take reſolutions againſt France; that what he ſaid was very important, and merited much reflection; that he might well believe I would not neglect the occaſion of doing your Majeſty a ſignal ſervice, and entering into an affair which might be ſo agreeable to you. Mr. Montagu anſwered, that the affairs of this country were never ſo ſure that one could promiſe an infallible ſucceſs; that it would be imprudent in him to engage himſelf lightly, and promiſe things he could not perform; that he knew the bent of the nation againſt France, and the difficulty of reſtraining the heat of the Engliſh upon that head, but that the effect of whatever could be propoſed againſt France, might be obviated by means almoſt certain; that to this end they might immediately accuſe the Duke of York and the three miniſters, and reſolve not to give any money till the parliament had been ſatisfied upon that head: That they might demand Lord Danby's condemnation, and put the King of England in a condition to obtain nothing, and reduce him to the neceſſity of diſſolving the parliament, which would render all the declarations he might make of no uſe. I did not think it proper to reject Mr. Montagu's propoſal; incidents may happen to make him ſerviceable, to overturn the projects that have been formed againſt your intereſts. It appears however, that this propoſal of engaging himſelf with the principal men in parliament may be ſubject to inconveniences; and as long as the King of England does not take part with your Majeſty's enemies, an alliance with this Prince is more reaſonable and lawful, than an aſſociation with the malecontents; but if I find it impoſſible to make the King of England enter into the propoſal of your Majeſty's having Luxembourg, and that he ſuffers himſelf to be led by thoſe who would unite him to your enemies, I think Mr. Montagu's offers ſhould not be

refuſed. But without entering into a connection too general, I imagine a particular affair like that of Luxembourg may be treated of, and I do not think it impoſſible to ſucceed in the manner Mr. Montagu propoſes. I ſhall keep myſelf ready to execute what your Majeſty orders; and think that in the mean time I ought to manage Mr. Montagu with care, becauſe he may in the end be uſeful to your Majeſty's ſervice. For this purpoſe it is neceſſary to pay him ſoon what is due to him; and I ſee no other way to make him ſerviceable for the future than to ſatisfy him for the paſt.

I do not neglect the other perſons with whom I have had commerce. I know the importance of it; for if I ſhould continue too long without ſaying any thing to them, they will ſuſpect a re-union between your Majeſty and his Britannic Majeſty."

The French however choſe rather to deal with King Charles than with Mr. Montagu about Luxembourg. Barillon writes on the 25th of December 1681, that Charles had propoſed to be arbiter in the affair of Luxembourg, in order that he might have an opportunity of giving it to France.

This probably occaſioned the public offer which Louis made to Spain, of referring the diſpute about Luxembourg to Charles, but which Spain refuſed.

This refuſal afforded a pretence to Charles to give himſelf no trouble for the protection of Luxembourg.

Among Lord Preſton's diſpatches, who was ambaſſador in France at this time, there are the three following letters on this head. In Mr. Graham of Netherby's poſſeſſion.

Letter Lord Preſton to the Marquis of Halifax.—Complains of the Spaniards for refuſing the arbitration of King Charles.

My Lord, Paris, Dec. 23, S. N. 82.

"YOUR Lordſhip judges very right, that the prolongation of the term lately obtained by his Majeſty, is the likelieſt means to preſerve the peace of Chriſtendom, and the world hath reaſon to wonder that the Spaniards and their allies, either do not or will not ſeem to ſee it. I have frequent occaſions here of converſing with the miniſters of Spain, of which there are now three in this court, and in their diſcourſes they ſeem ſtill to be averſe from accepting the arbitrage of our maſter, and urge the ſame things which their envoy at the Hague hath lately offered in a memorial. The advices which they have for ſome time given to their court, that France hath no mind to enter into a war, I believe may have been one occaſion of its not accepting hitherto what hath been propoſed: But though it may be true that a year or two's repoſe would be very advantageous to this kingdom, yet it is as true, that if they will force a war upon this King, he is much better able to ſupport it, and to attack them, than they are to defend themſelves; and I wiſh they may not involve themſelves and their neighbours in blood by their opiniâtreté. One of thoſe miniſters told me the other day, that he could wiſh with all his heart, that the King my maſter would find out a temperament for the compoſing of thoſe differences. I aſked him, if he could propoſe any temperament, or any means more likely to produce the effect he intended, than that of his Majeſty's accepting the arbitrage propoſed: He ſaid he believed, that if the King would call a parliament, it would put him into a better condition to bring

bring this King to reaſon, whoſe cuſtom it is to obſerve no treaties longer than they appear to be for his advantage, unleſs he be forced to it. Your Lordſhip I know underſtands very well the meaning of this, and I ſuppoſe they have not failed to offer ſomething like this in England already, or at leaſt doubtleſs they will do it ſoon. I anſwered, that his Majeſty was in very good circumſtances, and in a capacity to undertake the arbitrage, and alſo to ſee that what was concluded ſhould be obſerved. That I believed he would not be pleaſed that any one ſhould preſcribe to him the time of calling his parliament. That he would do it when his affairs required it, and not before. But upon the whole, I find their great hopes are that another delay will not be refuſed after the expiration of this term, and they ſeem to flatter themſelves that the Emperour's affairs will be on a better poſture than they are at preſent; but for my part, I ſee no great likelihood of that."

Lord Preſton to Secretary Jenkins, to the ſame purpoſe.

SIR, Paris, December 26, 1682.

"SOME ſtreaks of light begin now to appear, and one of the Spaniſh miniſters hath of late explained himſelf on the affair of the arbitrage; for being aſked, why it was not accepted in his court, he anſwered, becauſe they had no mind to part with Luxembourg, which they were ſure was to be ſacrificed if they did accept it; yet he ſaid he believed the propoſal would be received, if the King of England would call his parliament. Being aſked, why they did not declare that now, he anſwered, that they knew well enough that France had no mind to enter into a war at preſent; but if it ſo happened that they came to be much preſſed, it would be time enough to declare it then. I hinted ſomething of this by the laſt poſt,

poſt, to the Marquis of Halifax; but what I write now, hath paſſed ſince. By this you will ſee what is aimed at, and how goodly a propoſition is likely ſoon to be made to his Majeſty."

Lord Preſton to Secretary Jenkins, to the ſame purpoſe.—The great importance of Luxembourg.

SIR, Paris, February 3, S. N. 1683.

"MONSIEUR Delvall being with me the other day, fell to diſcourſe upon the preſent ſtate of the Spaniſh affairs. He aſked me if I had heard any thing out of England concerning a further prolongation of the term (for the report hath been here that Monſieur de Barillon had privately acquainted his Majeſty that the King his maſter would accord a delay till the laſt day of the laſt month). I told him that I had heard nothing of it, nor did expect to hear any thing, ſince Spain ſeemed to deſire no ſuch thing. He ſaid that Monſieur de Ronquillos had received a reprimand from the Spaniſh court for deſiring one the laſt time, he not having orders to do it; and he was ſure that it would not be demanded this time, becauſe it would be a tacit owning of the pretenſions of France. I anſwered, that I wondered the conduct of Monſieur de Ronquillos ſhould be diſapproved upon that occaſion, ſince I thought that it was the moſt conſiderable piece of ſervice that he was capable of doing to his maſter at that time. He ſays, that he was ſure that the miniſters of Spain would willingly hearken to an accommodation, but that the arbitrage, as it was propoſed, could not be accepted. That he could wiſh a temperament were found, and that they were willing to ſacrifice conſiderably for the aſſuring of a peace; but that they could not part with Luxembourg, which they were forced, for the importance of it, to maintain at a very great charge.

charge. He said, that four years since a minister of France, who had been upon several embassies (and he seemed to decypher Monsieur Courtin), had told him that after all the proposals and attempts of France, as well in the time of peace as war, Luxembourg was the place aimed at, and that no other thing would suit with this King's designs; for being already possessed of Strasbourg, if he had that city in his hands, he rendered himself master of the four electors of the Rhine, whom he might soon force to declare him King of the Romans, and so possess himself of the empire. He said further, that though the house of Austria be low, yet it was not willing to help on its own ruin by this means, and since Luxembourg is the thing aimed at, it were better for him to give it up with a good grace, to be thanked for it by France, than to lose it by an arbitrage.

To all this I replied, that the King, my master, was induced to offer this arbitrage, by the great desire only which he hath always shewn to have the peace and repose of Europe established, and that I should not presume to dive into the reasons which the ministers of Spain had to refuse so wholesome and so seasonable a proposition; but that I could not think that their procedure was reasonable in anticipating the judgment of the King my master, and in presuming to advance that it should be to their disadvantage, since the hopes of each party contending ought to be equal from an indifferent arbitrator; and I did assure him that the King, my master, was one of those."

The refusal of Spain to submit to the arbitration of Charles, furnished France also with a pretence for making more encroachments upon the Spanish Netherlands.

Among Lord Preſton's diſpatches are the two following on this head.

Letter Lord Preſton to Secretary Jenkins, Paris, July 15, 1682.—France uſes Spain's refuſal to accept of Charles's arbitration, as an excuſe for further encroachments.

SIR,

"I RECEIVED by the laſt poſt the papers which were given you by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and yeſterday I went to Verſailles and delivered them to Mr. de Croiſſy, and told him that they contained matter of complaint of ſome infractions of the treaty of Nimiguen in the neighbourhood of Namur; that they had been delivered to the King, my maſter, by Don Pedro de Ronquillos, and by his command tranſmitted to me: That I was alſo further ordered, to intimate the deſire of the King, my maſter, to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that he would give his orders, that no ſuch infractions as are complained of in thoſe papers, nor any other innovations of any kind may be ſuffered, much leſs authoriſed, to the prejudice of the King of Spain, or of his ſubjects in thoſe countries. Mr. de Croiſſy told me, that he did not believe that theſe complaints were better founded than many others that the Spaniards had of late made; that he could ſay nothing to the particulars, but that he would acquaint the King, his maſter, with the ſubject of thoſe papers, and alſo of the deſire of his Majeſty of Great Britain; but he believed no other anſwer could at this time be reaſonably given than this; that all matters in difference betwixt France and Spain of all kinds, were referred and ſubmitted to the King, my maſter; that if the Spaniards would accept of his mediation, this and all other things would eaſily be ended and compoſed; but if they did not ſoon declare themſelves upon that ſubject,

ſubject, he believed his maſter would think himſelf no way engaged by any thing which he had done or promiſed, for the ſettling of peace in Europe, which he paſſionately deſired; but that he ſhould be at liberty to take thoſe meaſures which he ſhould think would conduce moſt to his advantage."

Lord Preſton to Sir Richard Bulſtrode.—To the ſame purpoſe.

SIR, Paris, November 8, S. N. 1683.

"MONSIEUR de Croiſſy, by order of the King, told me the other day, that the ſmall inclination which Spain ſhewed to an accommodation, had obliged the King, his maſter, to ſend orders to the Marſchal de Humieres to beſiege Courtray; but that as ſoon as it was taken, he was reſolved to ſubmit that, and all his pretenſions which he might have upon Spain, to the diſpoſition and determination of the King, our maſter; that he had acquainted Monſieur Barillon with this reſolution, and the reaſons of it, by a courier expreſs, which he was to impart to his Majeſty: That he had alſo done the ſame to Monſieur d' Avaux, and ſent him this King's order to notify it to the States General at the Hague, and to make his great deſign which he hath to eſtabliſh the peace of Chriſtendom, appear to the whole world. The King, his maſter, had ordered him further to declare to me, that if Spain would give him any equivalent for the juſt pretenſions which he hath upon the Pais d' Aloſt and the Vieu bourg de Gand, that he was willing to accept it, and that he would propoſe three ways for it; that Spain might chooſe that which ſhould be moſt convenient to itſelf: The firſt is, that he will be willing to take Luxembourg with the walls and fortifications razed, with twelve or thirteen villages about it,

ſuch as he ſhall name; or, in the next place, he will take Courtray and Dixmude, with ſome villages which depend upon them; or if the King of Spain be not willing to give him an equivalent in Flanders, he will accept of Purcerda in Catalogne, with that part of the county of Cerdaigne which yet remaineth to the Spaniard. And to make it alſo appear that he hath no deſign to attack the empire, when he ſhall have adjuſted differences with Spain, he is willing to grant a truce to it for thirty, twenty-five, or twenty years, as the matter ſhall be regulated by the diet at Ratiſbon. This is what Monſieur de Croiſſy told me, but whether Spain will hearken to it or not, you are better able to judge than I."

France even prevailed with Charles to interpoſe his authority with the Prince of Orange, to prevail with the Dutch to perſuade Spain to make peace with the loſs of Luxembourg.

A letter from Lord Rocheſter to the Prince of Orange on this head, and alſo a copy of the Prince's anſwer to one which Charles had written him, are in King William's cabinet as follows:

Lord Rocheſter to the Prince of Orange.—Adviſes him to peace, and not to differ with France on account of Luxembourg.

"IT is a great misfortune there ſhould be ſuch difference in opinion between the King and your Highneſs, in ſome affairs relating to the public, on which the peace of Chriſtendom ſo much depends; which by the news that is now come of the marching of the French troops into the Pays d'Aloſt, ſeems to be very near

near broke. I ſee by what your Highneſs ſays, it would be very hard, if not impoſſible, to perſuade you to conſent that the razing of Luxembourg ſhould be a means to preſerve it, upon which ſubject Monſieur Bentinck muſt have told your Highneſs what the King's opinion is, to which I know not what to ſay, but that what hath happened ſince in the affairs of the world, hath not contributed any thing to make the condition of the peace more eaſy. I wiſh your Highneſs could bring your judgment to agree with the King's in this particular; becauſe though I confeſs there may be difficulties even that way, yet without it, they ſeem to be inſurmountable, at leaſt to me, who have not a judgment clear enough to ſee the way out of them; a little time will now ſhew what things muſt come to, and your Highneſs muſt needs know, that it is in peace that the King can be moſt uſeful to his allies. I pray God direct your Highneſs and all great perſons concerned in it, to find out the means to preſerve it."

St. James's, Auguſt 28, 1681.

Tranſlation.

Letter from the Prince of Orange to the King of England.—In anſwer to the King's interpoſing with him to get Spain to make peace with the loſs of Luxembourg.—Endeavours to wipe off mutual ſuſpicions.—In King William's cabinet.

Saerdyk, November 5, 1682.

"I HAVE received with the reſpect that I ought, the letter which your Majeſty did me the honour to write to me by Mr. Chudleigh: It will be very eaſy for me to obey your orders, and to perſuade the Emperor and Spain to peace, ſince I can aſſure you from my certain knowledge, that they deſire it, as much as any one can,

can, provided it be general: And I do not believe that your Majeſty would wiſh any other, ſince it could not be of any duration; and I am perſuaded that any other is not the intereſt either of your Majeſty, nor that of this ſtate, which looks at nothing but a ſure and durable peace, to which they will contribute all that is in their power, as I ſhall alſo do. And although I know that France endeavours to make me paſs for one who wiſhes for war, I hope your Majeſty will do me the juſtice not to credit it, when you take the pains to conſider, there is not a man in Europe who has an intereſt more contrary to it, conſidering all the circumſtances of things. I was very ſorry to ſee endeavours made to perſuade your Majeſty that there were allies, who could have the imprudence to threaten to force you into a war. I cannot believe that any could be found who would have been impertinent enough to hold ſuch language. But aſſuredly, theſe are the artifices of France, which has indirectly endeavoured to perſuade your Majeſty of it, in order to put them in a bad light, with much reaſon, in your imagination. I do not believe that there are any of theſe allies who would engage your Majeſty, or aſk you to do any thing but what is agreeable to the treaties which they have with you. At leaſt, I can anſwer with regard to this ſtate, which deſires nothing more than to do what is agreeable to your Majeſty, and to teſtify the inviolable attachment they have to your intereſts, and that they will never fail to contribute to your Majeſty's greatneſs and power, which is alſo their true intereſt, and from which they will never depart. With regard to me, one of the greateſt mortifications which I have in the world is, that I have never till this time had any occaſion to be able to make your Majeſty ſee my true zeal for your ſervice and your intereſts. I hope you will never give credit to perſons who would perſuade you to the

the contrary, or think they can make me believe that your Majeſty does not do me the honour to have any longer a friendſhip for me, as I ſee you ſuſpect will happen by the letter which you have done me the favour to write me, ſince it is ſo long ago that you have aſſured me of the contrary. I can never have ſuch thoughts, eſpecially when I ſee the goodneſs which you have lately had to intereſt yourſelf in the violences which France hath committed againſt me in Orange. And I hope that you will protect me, and get me reparation and ſatisfaction for what I have ſuffered ſo unjuſtly there. If the news which I have received be true, that France has taken all the principality of Orange, under pretence of an old pretenſion of the houſe of Longueville, I ſhall be entirely ruined if your Majeſty does not aſſiſt me with vigour, and cauſe to be given back to me what has been taken with ſo much injuſtice. I expect this from your goodneſs, and the aſſurances which you do me the favour to give me of the continuation of your friendſhip, and becauſe I ſhall be all my life, with a profound reſpect, your moſt humble, and moſt obedient nephew, and ſervant."

In the courſe of the diſpute with Spain about Luxembourg, France ſeized the principality of Orange under pretence that it belonged to the houſe of Longueville. Charles, as appears by the letter laſt cited, had flattered the Prince of Orange with his protection in that matter. However, he never gave it.

On this head there are the three following letters among Lord Preſton's diſpatches, in Mr. Graham of Netherby's poſſeſſion.

Lord Preſton to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Has no orders to concur with the Dutch Ambaſſador in aſking redreſs about the principality of Orange.

SIR, Paris, Dec. 23, S. N. 1682.

"I HAVE received two of yours of the 4th inſtant, S. V. in one of which you are pleaſed to let me know, that his Majeſty would be glad to know what offices the Dutch Ambaſſador would engage me in, in the affair of Orange. I acquainted you ſome time ſince, by one of the 28th of November laſt, that the Dutch Ambaſſador had ſent to me twice or thrice to know if I had received any orders in that affair; my anſwer was, that I had not, which was all that paſſed between us. I have ſeen him ſeveral times ſince, and he never of late hath ſaid any thing to me of it; but I believe he might have heard from Holland, that the Prince was reſolved to make application to his Majeſty, and ſo he might imagine that I had received his commands in it. I have it from a good hand, that it is reſolved, that Monſieur Heinſius ſhall come, but his journey is retarded at the preſent, till they know his Majeſty's reſolutions, it being hoped there, that I ſhall have his commands to act in concert with him. It is my duty to repreſent all things as truly as I can; and I muſt tell you, that I believe no manner of ſucceſs is to be hoped from any inſtances which may be made in that affair; for beſides what is perſonal betwixt this King and the Prince, they do ſay that it is a private buſineſs, and that it doth no way regard the affairs of Europe; though in this caſe it may very juſtly be alledged, that ſince there is particular care taken of the Prince of Orange and his intereſts, by the treaty of Nimiguen, what hath been done againſt him of late, and the pro-

ceeding of the French at Orange, can be no other than a formal controvention of that treaty."

Lord Preſton to Secretary Jenkins.—To the ſame purpoſe.

Paris, March 31, S. N. 1683.

"THE Dutch Ambaſſador brought Monſieur Heinſius the day after his arrival, to make me a viſit. He aſked me if I had received any orders to act in *concert* with him in the affair of Orange. I told him I had received none. He told me that his Majeſty had promiſed that as ſoon as he had notice of his (Monſieur Heinſius's) arrival here, that I ſhould have inſtructions in this affair, and that the States General had written to his Majeſty to ſignify his departure. If his Majeſty doth think of this, I muſt beg to have his punctual orders how far I am to engage with Monſieur Heinſius; and that if I am to join with him, we may preſent no memorials but ſuch as are firſt ſeen and approved of by his Majeſty. I ſee very well that it will be a buſineſs of volume and of trouble enough. Monſieur Spankheim hath orders alſo from the Elector of Brandenbourg to act with Monſieur Heinſius."

Lord Preſton to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—The Dutch Ambaſſador has no ſucceſs.

SIR, Paris, October 24, S. N. 1683.

"MONSIEUR Heinſius finding that he can obtain nothing in this court, in the affair of Orange, did on Tueſday laſt demand his audience of Conge, and is preparing to leave this place in a few days."

France had indeed little reaſon to be afraid of the interpoſition of England upon the continent at this time.

Barillon writes, April 2, 1682, that having warned Charles not to be drawn into a war againſt France, that Prince anſwered,—" Leave me to myſelf. I know the danger from which I have eſcaped; and it will not be eaſy to make me run into it again."

Soon after the ſecret treaty of the year 1681, between Charles and Louis, the Duke of York quitted his exile in Scotland, and came to attend his brother. Louis the XIVth, knowing the Duke's attachment to France, and the weight he might have in keeping his brother ſteady to the ſecret treaty, ordered Barillon to act in concert with him, and writ the following letter to the Duke.

Tranſlation.

Letter from Louis the XIVth to the Duke of York, March 20, 1682, upon his return from Scotland.—Truſts to his keeping his brother firm to the late ſecret treaty.

" MY brother, I have learnt by the laſt letters from Mr. Barillon, my Ambaſſador in England, that you was to be in a few days at Newmarket with the King, my brother; this news was the more agreeable to me, as beſides the intereſt I take in all that concerns you, through the ſincere and cordial affection I bear you, I ſee alſo, that your councils and firmneſs will henceforth be very neceſſary to ſtrengthen the King of Great Britain in the reſolution to avail himſelf of the means I have offered him to confirm the peace, and render immovable the ties of friendſhip, to which you have ſo much contributed. Mr. Barillon will more fully inform you of my intentions; and I aſſure myſelf you will the more readily believe what he ſhall ſay on my part, as he can-

not expreſs ſufficiently to what a degree I wiſh to procure your ſatisfaction."

In King William's box and in Doctor Morton's hands, there are many letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, in the period between his return from Scotland, and the death of King Charles, concerning the diſputes of France with Spain, and with the Prince of Orange. I print them, and in the order of time, becauſe by that means the effects of his connexions with France will beſt appear.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Is to intereſt himſelf about the principality of Orange.—Wiſhes for peace.

London, December 26, 1682.

"THIS evening I received yours of the firſt of January, by which I am very ſorry to find the ill uſage you have ſtill in the affair of Orange, and ſhall be ſure this night, ſo ſoon as I can ſpeak with his Majeſty, to ſhew him your letter, and to preſs him to do his part, that thoſe extraordinary proceedings may have an end; and ſhould be glad all things in Chriſtendom might end in peace and quietneſs."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

London, January 8, 1683.

"I HAVE now received yours of the 12th, and did put his Majeſty in mind again of your affair of Orange, who told me he would be ſure to move in it when it ſhould be a proper time. I agree with you,

that no body has more reaſon to deſire peace than yourſelf, and ſince you are of that mind, I hope you will take thoſe meaſures that are neceſſary to obtain it; and though you need not ſeparate from your allies, you may give them good advice, which I believe the Spaniards would follow, if you gave it them, they being no way prepared to make war; and I fear the Emperor will have enough to do to defend himſelf from the Turk."

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Differs from the Prince as to foreign politics.

Windſor, Auguſt 14, 1683.

"THOUGH we differ in our opinions as to affairs on your ſide of the water (which I am ſorry for), that ſhall not alter my kindneſs to you: For people may be very good friends, I think, though they may differ in point of judgment, as well in matter of ſtate, as religion."

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Blames the Spaniards for not accepting Charles's mediation.—Bitterneſs againſt the late conſpirators.

Wincheſter, Sept. 2, 1683.

"I HAD, before I received yours, heard of the French troops being to march into Flanders; and ſince the Spaniards will not ſave all by demoliſhing of Luxembourg, I do not ſee what is to be done. 'Tis what they might have long expected, and I believe it had happened ſooner had not the King interpoſed; and if where you are, people had been of this mind, and the arbitration had been accepted of, this invaſion had not been, and all Chriſtendom had been in peace, and free to have aſſiſted the Emperor againſt the Turk. We have

have as great devils to deal with here, for though ſome of the conſpirators have been taken and executed, yet that party are as malicious and fiery as ever; ſo that we here muſt look to ourſelves, and not engage in any war beyond ſea."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe about Spain.

Wincheſter, Sept. 9, 1683.

"I SEE by yours of the 10th, which I received on Friday after I came from Portſmouth, that you were come back to the Hague, upon the news of the march of the French into Flanders, to conſider what was to be done upon it. I could have wiſhed the Spaniards would have taken other meaſures to have prevented it, which they might have done, and not have put ſo hard a taſk on their allies to help them, againſt ſo powerful a Prince as they have now to deal with, without hazarding all as they now do."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for peace with France.

London, Nov. 9, 1683.

"LAST night I received yours by Mr. Borſtel of the 9th, and had before heard of the good news of the taking of Grave; and am as ſorry as any body can be that the war is begun in Flanders, and wiſh that while the winter laſts, ſome means of accommodation may be found, that all Chriſtendom may be in peace."

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

London, April 7, 1684.

"I FIND by yours of the 11th that you are troubled at the laſt anſwer you had from the King concerning the propoſals had been made to him by Mr. Citters, and we here are troubled that none of the propoſals made by the French have been hearkened unto, nor none made to them, which might probably be accepted by them, there being nothing more deſired here, than that all Chriſtendom might be in peace, which I fear will hardly be brought about, now that the King of France ſets out ſo ſoon for the army."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for peace with France.—Severity againſt the conſpirators.

Windſor, April 15, 1684.

"TO-MORROW I am to go to London for two or three days, where one Halloway, one of the conſpirators, is to be tryed, though he might have been hanged without that ceremony, having been taken and already outlawed, but this way is choſen to make more public what he has confeſſed of that damnable conſpiracy. I am glad to find by our Flanders letters that the Spaniards begin to hearken to ſuch a truce as was propoſed by France. I wiſh all their allies may be of the ſame mind, and then there may be hopes of having a peace, which is very much wiſhed for here, and ought to be in my mind every where elſe."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Pretends to be diſpleaſed with the taking of Luxembourg.

London, May 30, 1684.

"I HAD not yours of the 30th, which ſhould have come to me the poſt before, till Tueſday laſt, and that ſo late that I could not then anſwer it. I believe, ſoon after you had written it you had the news of the taking of Luxembourg: Sure it was a great neglect in the Spaniards to have ſo few men in it, eſpecially ſince they looked on it as a place of ſuch conſequence. I hope now they will make peace, and not loſe all the reſt of Flanders, as they have done that important town."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Approves of the States advances of peace to France.

London, June 26, 1684.

"YESTERDAY before I came from Windſor, I received yours of the 30th, by which I ſee you were a-going back to the Hague, and your troops to their ſeveral garriſons in Holland. I cannot be of your mind as to what the States have done, for I think they had nothing elſe to do, but to agree to what was propoſed to them by France, as the only means to have a peace, which I am ſure is the true intereſt of Holland as well as England, and therefore am glad at what they have done; and if the Spaniards be wiſe they ought to be ſo too, ſince by it Flanders is ſaved."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Wiſhes France's offer of a twenty years truce to be accepted.

London, February 15, 1684.

"AS for matters here, all things go very well and quietly, and his Majeſty's authority encreaſes every day. I could wiſh with all my heart, that where you are, the French propoſals of a truce for twenty years were hearkened to, being perſuaded that would be much better for all Chriſtendom than a war."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Partial to French terms of peace.

Newmarket, March 10, 1684.

"AS for news, this place affords none; and God be thanked all things are very quiet in our country; I am ſorry they are not ſo on your ſide of the water. I ſee the King's anſwer to the propoſals that were given him by Monſieur Citters from the allies, was not then come to you, but long before this it is; I could have wiſhed they had been more reaſonable, that ſome good might have come of them."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for peace with France.—Partial to French terms.

London, March 25, 1684.

"I HEAR by your letters, that you were making all the preparations for a war, and that you have ſent more troops into Flanders, beſides thoſe you have already there; but for all that, if what we hear from France be true, of the Empreſs having ſent a courier into Spain to adviſe the acceptance of the truce, I will hope there may yet be a peace. I ſee by what you ſay, you

you are not ſatisfied with the anſwer his Majeſty made to the propoſals made by Mr. Citters in the name of the allies; I am ſorry for it, ſince his Majeſty can give no other anſwer."

Partly in King William's box, and partly in Doctor Morton's hands, are many letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, concerning the invaſion of the liberties of the city, and the Rye-houſe plot. I print all theſe alſo, and in the order of time.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The ſucceſs in the city mortifying to the Whigs.

London, October 24, 1682.

"AS for news, all things go very well here, and Pritchards has carried it againſt Gold and Corniſh; to-morrow it is to be declared at the common hall, ſo that we ſhall have a good and loyal Lord Mayor, as well as two Sheriffs of the ſame ſtamp, which is a mighty mortification to the whigs."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Verdict againſt Lord Gray and Pilkinton mortifying to the ſeditious.

London, November 28, 1682.

"AS for the news of this place, you have already heard what has paſt as to Lord Gray and Pilkinton laſt week, that I need not repeat it again to you; what was done to the laſt has mortified very much that ſeditious and turbulent party which now loſe ground every day."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His opinion of Shaftesbury and Lord Keeper North.

Windsor, December 18, 1682.

"I FIND by yours of the 22d, which I had yesterday at London, that Lord Shaftesbury was at Amsterdam, and do easily believe that you will have nothing to do with such a kind of a man as he, that is so very great an enemy to all our family in general, as well as a particular one to me. I am told that many of the fanatic party flock to him, and no doubt, to his power he will do his part to do what harm he can to us. We came from London this morning, where I do not know whether the Lord Chancellor were alive or dead, he being speechless *last night*; 'tis believed that Lord Chief Justice North will succeed him, who is both able and bold, as well as very loyal."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth owns the conspiracy.

London, November 27, 1683.

"THOUGH you will hear the news I am going to tell you from other hands, 'tis too considerable a one for me not to write it to you; 'tis that the Duke of Monmouth on Saturday last came and delivered himself up to the secretary, and desired he might speak with the King and myself alone; so soon as the secretary had advertised his Majesty, he went down to the secretary, taking me along with him; where the Duke of Monmouth, after having asked his Majesty's pardon in the humblest manner imaginable, and owned his knowledge of the whole conspiracy, except that part of the assassination, asked pardon of me also, and said as much to me

upon that ſubject as I could expect of him, with all the promiſes of his good behaviour for the future, a man could ſay: After his Majeſty had heard all he had to ſay, he ordered the ſecretary to put him into the cuſtody of a Serjeant at Arms, till further pleaſure; the next day his Majeſty ordered his releaſe, and has ordered his pardon to be prepared, having pardoned him, and permits him to be at court again."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Algernon Sidney's death and Monmouth's confeſſion will give the lie to the Whigs.

London, December 4, 1683.

"AS for news here, Algernon Sidney is to be beheaded on Friday next on the Tower-hill, which beſides the doing juſtice on ſo ill a man, will give the lie to the whigs, who reported he was not to ſuffer. The Duke of Monmouth, alſo, I am told, will ſome way or other give them the lie, by owning in a more public way, than he has done yet, his knowledge of the conſpiracy; which that rebellious party, and ſome of his dependers, endeavoured to perſuade the world he knew nothing of."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Duke of Monmouth retracts.—Account of Algernon Sidney's death.

London, December 7, 1683.

"I BELIEVE you will be as much ſurpriſed with the news of the Duke of Monmouth's being ordered to go out of Whitehall, and not to appear in his Majeſty's preſence, as you were at his coming in, and being permitted to ſtay at court. His Majeſty ſent this morning the Vice Chamberlain with that meſſage to him, being very much diſpleaſed with his not owning by a letter or paper under his hand, his knowledge of the conſpiracy,

as he had done it, by word of mouth, to his Majeſty and myſelf; beſides which, ſome of his ſervants and dependers reported every where, that what was in the Gazette concerning him was falſe, for that he had never owned any knowledge of the conſpiracy, which diſingenuous proceeding of his did ſo anger his Majeſty, that it obliged him to ſhew his diſpleaſure to him, as he has done; and now 'tis viſible to all the world, that he only deſigned by his coming in, to get his pardon, and to keep his credit with his party ſtill, both which he has now done; and though his coming in and being pardoned as he was, has done ſome harm; I hope this good will come of it, that his Majeſty will now never believe any thing he ſays again, and then he can do but little harm. Algernon Sidney was beheaded this day, died very reſolutely, and like a true rebel and republican."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth in diſgrace.—The Duke of York vexed at war breaking out againſt France again.

London, December 14, 1683.

"I Received yeſterday yours of the 18th, and by it ſee you were ſurpriſed with the news of the Duke of Monmouth's being come to court, and believe you were no leſs ſurpriſed with his behaviour ſince, and what happened to him upon it, of all which I have already given you an account. On Wedneſday his Majeſty told the council all that had paſt in that affair of the Duke of Monmouth, and ſhewed them the letter he would have had that Duke have ſigned, and ordered the letter, and what he had ſaid, to be regiſtered in the council books, to ſatisfy the world of the truth of all that paſt, and that the Duke of Monmouth had owned to him the knowledge of all the conſpiracy, except the aſſaſſinating part, of

of which he ſaid he knew nothing; and after the Duke of Monmouth's behaviour, it was neceſſary for his Majeſty to ſay what he did in council. Before I had had your laſt letter, I had heard of the Spaniards having declared war againſt France; I was ſorry to hear it, being an enemy to war, and fear moſt of you on your ſide of the water will be engaged in it. We here ſhall keep out on't, I hope, as well as we can, for we will not be drawn into it, having enough to do at home."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His opinion of Algernon Sidney's laſt ſpeech, and of the Duke of Monmouth.

London, January 4, 1684.

"I HAVE received yours of the 4th, and by it ſee you had read Algernon Sidney's paper, and though it was a very treaſonable and inſolent one, yet, 'twas thought fit to have it printed, that the world might ſee what his principles were, and what both he and the reſt of the conſpirators drove at, and its being publiſhed has really done good. His trial alſo is come out, and I have ſent it to my daughter, by one who goes with the pacquet boat. I do very eaſily believe you were ſurpriſed at the extraordinary carriage of the Duke of Monmouth, and ſince he was no truer a convert, 'twas very well he ſhewed himſelf ſo ſoon, for had he ſtayed and diſſembled, he might have done much miſchief; but now he can do but little, for all the world is now ſatisfied, he is never to be truſted, and then he has all his vain fancies in his head. 'Tis not now certain where he is; his wife and ſome others of his friends ſay, he is gone beyond ſea, and by a letter out of Zealand, they give an account of two Engliſh gentlemen which landed there, and went for Antwerp, and by the deſcription they make of them, one of them ſhould be he; if he be in Flanders, I ſuppoſe

poſe by that time you have this you will have heard of it."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of his ſeeing the Duke of Monmouth.

Windſor, May 20, 1684.

"I FIND by your letter, that the Duke of Monmouth had been to ſee you: I do not at all wonder that he did not ſend to advertiſe you of his coming to you, but do think it odd enough for him to preſent himſelf to you, after his having been engaged in ſo horrid a conſpiracy, for the alteration of the government, and ruin of the King and our family; and his refuſing ſince he had his pardon to own that under his hand, which he confeſſed to the King, I being by, is ſure in its ſelf, as offenſive to his Majeſty and myſelf, as any thing can be, and ſhews he did it to keep up his credit with his rebellious party, and his vain pretenſions to the crown. For what elſe could have made him refuſe to ſign, what he had owned himſelf to the King and me, which is the greateſt reflection imaginable upon both of us, as if he had not owned that to us, which his Majeſty required him to ſign? When I began my letter, I did not think to have ſaid ſo much to you concerning the Duke of Monmouth; and let him give what reaſons he pleaſes for the occaſion of his being at Bruxelles, I can never truſt to what he ſays or believe him, and I think you will be to blame if you do."

Duke of York to the Princeſs of Orange.—Complains of her huſband for ſeeing Lord Brandon, and the Duke of Monmouth.

Windſor, June 6, 1684.

"I HAD not your's of the 9th till Wedneſday, by which I find you have received mine. I wrote to you upon the ſubject of Lord Brandon, and I eaſily believe, that you

you might have forgotten for what he had been in the Tower, yet others could not be ignorant of it, nor have ſo ſhort memories; and I muſt need tell you, it ſcandaliſes all loyal and monarchical people here, to know how well the Prince lives with, and how civil he is to the Duke of Monmouth, and Lord Brandon; and it heartens exceedingly the factious party here, which are a ſort of people that one would think the Prince ſhould not ſhew any countenance to; and in this affair methinks you might talk with the Prince (though you meddle in no others); the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Brandon, and the reſt of that party, being declaredly my mortal enemies. And let the Prince flatter himſelf as he pleaſes, the Duke of Monmouth will do his part, to have a puſh with him for the crown, if he, the Duke of Monmouth, outlive the King and me. Some poſts ſince I wrote pretty freely to the Prince upon this ſubject in general, to which I have yet had no anſwer: However, it will become you very well to ſpeak to him of it."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Believes Monmouth is in England.

St. James's, Dec. 2, 1684.

"AS for news, there is little returning amongſt us, all things being very quiet here; what is moſt talked on is, about the Duke of Monmouth to know where he is; 'tis believed he is here for ſeveral reaſons, beſides that he was neither in Holland nor Flanders when the laſt letters came from thence."

Barillon's letter of 19 July, 1683, gives the account which I have given of Louis the XIVth interpoſing to ſave the life of Lord Ruſſel.

Men who look into the true, becauſe the ſecret ſources of hiſtory to be found in the writings of the actors of the times, will generally find them filled with the animoſities of their anceſtors againſt each other, and upon that account many of thoſe who are called prudent men, and who think themſelves ſo, are apt to ſay that a veil had better be drawn over them. Yet in inquiries of this kind we ſhall always find, even amidſt the fierceſt contentions of party, a degree of private virtue on which the mind of the inquirer repoſes itſelf with joy. The deſcendants of Lord Ruſſel will feel pleaſure in hearing that Lord Dartmouth, though of all others the moſt perſonally attached to Charles and James, and the moſt intereſted in any misfortune which could befal them, begged the life of Lord Ruſſel from that ſovereign whom he had offended. Strangers to theſe families will read it with pleaſure, becauſe it confirms one of the moſt pleaſing of all truths, that tenderneſs of mind and courage go continually together. In the manuſcript notes upon Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory by the Earl of Dartmouth, ſecretary of ſtate to Queen Anne, which the preſent Earl of Dartmouth was ſo good as to ſhow me, there is the following paſſage:

"My father told the King, the pardoning of Lord Ruſſel would lay an eternal obligation upon a very great and numerous family, and the taking his life would never be forgotten; and his father being alive it would have little effect upon the reſt of the family beſides reſentments; and certainly there was ſome regard due to Lord Southampton's daughter, and her children. The King anſwered, All that is true; but it is as true, that if I do not take his life he will ſoon have mine; which would admit of no reply."

The petitions of the Earl of Bedford and of Lord Ruſſel to King Charles, for Lord Ruſſel's life, mentioned in the Memoirs, are in theſe words.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble petition of William Earl of Bedford,

Humbly ſheweth;

THAT could your petitioner have been admitted into your preſence, he would have laid himſelf at your royal feet in behalf of his unfortunate ſon, himſelf and his diſtreſſed and diſconſolate family, to implore your royal mercy; which he never had the preſumption to think could be obtained by any indirect means. But ſhall think himſelf, wife, and children, much happier to be left but with bread and water, than to loſe his dear ſon for ſo foul a crime as treaſon againſt the beſt of Princes, for whoſe life he ever did, and ever ſhall pray more than for his own.

May God incline your Majeſty's heart to the prayers of an afflicted old father, and not bring gray hairs with ſorrow to my grave.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble petition of William Ruſſel,

Moſt humbly ſheweth;

THAT your petitioner does once more caſt himſelf at your Majeſty's feet, and implores, with all humility, your mercy and pardon, ſtill avowing that he never had the leaſt thought againſt your Majeſty's life, nor any deſign to change the government; but humbly and ſorrowfully confeſſes his having been preſent at thoſe meet-

ings, which he is convinced were unlawful and juſtly provoking to your Majeſty; but being betrayed by ignorance and inadvertence, he did not decline them as he ought to have done, for which he is truely and heartily ſorry; and therefore humbly offers himſelf to your Majeſty to be determined to live in any part of the world which you ſhall appoint, and never to meddle any more in the affairs of England, but as your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to command him.

May it therefore pleaſe your Majeſty

To extend your royal favour and mercy to your petitioner, by which he will be for ever engaged to pray for your Majeſty, and to devote his life to your ſervice.

It is probable that Charles was not ignorant of a fact hinted at by Algernon Sidney at his trial; to wit, that he had been the cauſe of preventing a ſcheme to aſſaſſinate the King in his youth. From two letters of Colbert to his own court, dated 4th and 25th Auguſt 1670, it appears, that the French court gave information to Charles of Sidney's being then at Paris, and deſired to know how they ſhould act with regard to him; that Lord Arlington propoſed to Charles, that a penſion ſhould be given by France to Mr. Sidney, becauſe he was in ſtraits; and that Charles conſented to it. Charles at firſt alſo agreed, that he ſhould be at liberty to continue at Paris, but afterwards changed his mind, and deſired he might be removed from it. The preſcience which Charles, even in the plenitude of his power at this period, had of the conſequence of this man, then an exile, and in want, is ſweetly flattering to thoſe who enjoy this our Temple of Liberty, becauſe it ſhows, that the true greatneſs of every

every individual depends upon himſelf. Upon this head Colbert, in his letter of 4th Auguſt 1670, relates Charles's expreſſions with regard to Sidney, thus: "The King (Charles) ſaid to me again, that he did not care whether the ſaid Sidney lived in Paris, Languedoc, or any other place he pleaſed, provided he did not return to England, where, ſaid he, his pernicious ſentiments, ſupported with ſo great parts and courage, might do much hurt." And in Colbert's letter of 25th Auguſt 1670, he ſays, Charles ſaid to him of Sidney, "That it was proper to let him return to Languedoc, and that he could not be too far from England." And in other letters I obſerved, that wherever Charles ſpoke of Sidney, he called him "un "homme de cœur et d'eſprit:" which may perhaps be tranſlated "a man of heart and head."

In King William's box, there is, in Lord Portland's hand-writing, the following copy of a letter from the Prince of Orange to him, concerning the Prince's having ſeen the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Brandon, after the Rye-houſe plot.

Tranſlation.

Complains of Chudleigh's inſolence.—His reaſons for ſeeing the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Brandon.

Hague, 7th July, 1684.

"IT is a long time ſince I troubled you with my letters, having nothing good to write you about public affairs, which have taken the turn you know of; but I cannot help communicating to you an affair which has happened to me. Two days ago, Mr. Chudleigh came to tell me, that he had an order from the King to inform me, that his Majeſty took ill my having ſeen the Duke

of Monmouth and Lord Brandon; and after having given him my reaſons why I did not think I had been in the fault, he gave me a reprimand for the honours of war which I had cauſed to be paid to the Duke of Monmouth, in a manner ſo inſolent, and at the ſame time owning that he had no order for it, that if I had not had conſideration for his character, I would not have ſuffered it as I did. He has behaved, on many occaſions, very impertinently with regard to me, being a very fooliſh and impertinent man. But I have not liked to complain of it, not even upon this occaſion, knowing well that in the preſent conjuncture I ſhould not have been liſtened to. I thought it right to inform only you of it, that if you think it neceſſary, and ſee an occaſion, you may let his Majeſty know of it, as alſo that I do not think I have given any occaſion for his being diſſatisfied with me for ſeeing the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Brandon. The firſt is his ſon, whom he has pardoned for the faults which he may have committed; and though he has removed him from his preſence, I know that in the bottom of his heart, he has always ſome friendſhip for him, and that the King cannot be angry with him. With regard to the other, it is true he has been in the Tower, but he was ſet at liberty without any thing having been proved againſt him, at leaſt ſo far as I know. I aſſure you that I would never ſee, much leſs give any ſort of protection to, people who have committed any crime againſt his Majeſty. I am too much attached by duty and inclination to his ſervice, to do it, for which ſervice I will ſpare neither my life nor my fortune. Of which I intreat you to aſſure his Majeſty when you think proper, and not take amiſs the trouble which I now give you."

From Barillon's diſpatches in the *Depot* at Verſailles, it appears, that after the Rye-houſe plot, King Charles and

and the Duke of York were on the very worſt terms with the Prince of Orange; that they even ſuſpected him of having encouraged that part of it in which the great men were engaged; that they refuſed a viſit which he offered them; and that, when Van Citters was ſent by the Prince of Orange in the end of the year 1684, to vindicate his conduct from the different accuſations brought againſt it, he was received with coldneſs.

The following letters, in King William's cabinet, from the Duke of York at that time to the Prince, correſpond with Barillon's relations.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Much out of humour with him.

London, October 3, 1684.

"I HAVE had your's of the 2d, and you may be ſure that I ſhall do my part in what concerns you, but it is neceſſary you do your's to ſatisfy the King; and pray conſider, whether he has had reaſon to be ſatisfied with ſeveral things you have done for ſome time paſt. I could ſay more to you upon this ſubject, but am not encouraged to do it, ſince I have found that you have had ſo little conſideration for things I have ſaid to you, which I thought of concern to our family, though you did not."

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Out of humour with the Prince.

Whitehall, Jan. 2, 1684.

"I HAD this night after I came from the play your's of the 9th, in which you repeat to me what was in your's of the 2d. To both which, all I can ſay is, that it is neceſſary you do your part, before you can expect the King can be ſatisfied with you."

All true Engliſhmen were unhappy at the differences between Charles and the Prince of Orange. Among others who wrote to the Prince of Orange on this ſubject, Lord Godolphin took the liberty to do it.

Lord Godolphin to the Prince of Orange.—Laments his differences with King Charles.—In the Depot.

Whitehall, April 18, 1684.

"IT was with abundance of joy and ſatisfaction that I received the honour of your Highneſs's letter, and the aſſurance you are pleaſed to give me, that you ſtill preſerve ſome remembrance of me, and ſome remainder of that goodneſs which you have expreſſed to me on ſo many occaſions. I will not trouble your Highneſs with any compliments, knowing very well how little you care for them. But I imagine your Highneſs will eaſily believe, I am extremely and particularly ſenſible of our general unhappineſs from the want of that right underſtanding between the King and your Highneſs, which is ſo neceſſary for both your intereſts, that I ſhould hope, and moſt humbly beſeech your Highneſs, that you would never loſe any occaſion of endeavouring to reſtore yourſelf to that kindneſs and affection which the King is ſo naturally inclined to have for you. I dare not preſume to enter into particulars, or to trouble your Highneſs with my reaſonings upon this ſubject: I beg only that you will be pleaſed to preſerve me ſome ſmall place in your favourable thoughts, which I ſhall ſtudy to deſerve on all occaſions, as becomes your Highneſs's moſt obedient, humble, and moſt faithful ſervant."

The apathy of the Duke of York's character is ſtrongly marked in the two following letters to one of his friends, on two very intereſting ſubjects, to wit, the Earl of Argyle's condemnation, and the Duke of Monmouth's mercy to the Covenanters. With regard to the firſt he writes thus:

"Edinburgh, Dec. 13, 1681. Lord Argyle's trial began yeſterday, and their forms in the juſtice court are ſo tedious, that they could not make an end of it then, but will as I believe this evening: And have reaſon to believe the jury will find the bill and not *ignoramus*; and that little Lord will be once again at his Majeſty's mercy."

And with regard to the Duke of Monmouth's mercy to the Covenanters, the Duke of York writes thus from Edinburgh:—"I find the generality of the beſt men here, much troubled at the indulgence the Duke of Monmouth got for the fanatics here, after they had been beaten; and ſay it will encourage them to another rebellion."

While we form a judgment of James's character from intrinſic evidence, that of his own letters, let us not condemn him by the lies of party. Biſhop Burnet, in giving an account of the Duke's ſhipwreck, in the year 1682, imputes the loſs of above one hundred perſons of the nobleſt blood in Britain, to the inſenſibility of the Duke of York and Lord Dartmouth; and would have it believed, that while the Duke neglected his friends, he ſaved his dogs and his prieſts.

The following letter diſproves the imputation:

Earl of Dartmouth to Eraſmus Lewis, Eſq.—Account of the Duke's ſhipwreck.—In the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Dartmouth.

SIR, Sandwell, Jan. 25, 1682.

"THIS is only in anſwer to the laſt paragraph in yours of the 21ſt. My father was on board the Glouceſter, but ſo little deſerved to have the drowning of a 150 men (which the biſhop has ſo liberally beſtowed upon him) laid chiefly to his charge, that it was in great meaſure owing to him, that any eſcaped after the ſhip had ſtruck. He ſeveral times preſſed the Duke to get into the boat, who refuſed to do it, telling him, that if he were gone, no body would take care of the ſhip, which he had hopes might be ſaved, if ſhe were not abandoned. But my father finding ſhe was ready to ſink, told him if he ſtayed any longer they ſhould be obliged to force him out: Upon which the Duke ordered a ſtrong box to be lifted into the boat, which beſides being extremely weighty, took up a good deal of time, as well as room. My father aſked him with ſome warmth, if there was any thing in it worth a man's life. The Duke anſwered that there were things of ſo great conſequence both to the King and himſelf, that he would hazard his own rather than it ſhould be loſt. Before he went off he enquired for Lord Roxborough and Lord Obrian, but the confuſion and hurry was ſo great that they could not be found: When the Duke and as many as ſhe would hold with ſafety were in the boat, my father ſtood with his ſword drawn to hinder the crowd from overſetting of her, which I ſuppoſe was what the biſhop eſteemed a fault; but the King thanked him publicly for the care he had taken of the Duke; and the Dutcheſs, who was not

apt

apt to favour him much upon other occaſions, ſaid upon this, that ſhe thought herſelf more obliged to him than to any man in the world, and ſhould do ſo, as long as ſhe lived. I cannot gueſs what induced the biſhop to charge my father with the long-boat's not being ſufficiently manned, for if that were true (which I much doubt) it was not under his direction, he being on board in no other capacity, but as a paſſenger and the Duke's ſervant: And I believe the reflection upon the Duke for his care of the dogs to be as ill grounded; for I remember a ſtory (that was in every body's mouth at that time) of a ſtruggle that happened for a plank between Sir Charles Scarborow, and the Duke's dog Mumper, which convinces me, that the dogs were left to take care of themſelves (as he did) if there were any more on board, which I never heard till the biſhop's ſtory-book was publiſhed. This is all in relation to that affair, that ever came to the knowledge of, Sir, your moſt faithful humble ſervant."

The dependence of the two royal brothers upon France was at this time ſo extreme, that Barillon writes, 18th July 1683, that King Charles had thoughts of a marriage between the Princeſs Anne and Prince George of Denmark; but that he and the Duke of York would take no reſolution till they knew how far it would be agreeable to Louis; and that Lord Sunderland had propoſed ſhe ſhould rather marry the Prince of Rhode ſur Yon, in order to tie Charles and Louis faſter together.

France at this time meddled in almoſt every the moſt domeſtic affair of England. Barillon, as appears by his letters of the 10th and 28th of February, 1684, was

uneaſy that Lord Danby, however ſunk in the capacity of hurting France, ſhould be releaſed from the Tower. But the Duke of York, who ſaw better the contempt of parliament which was implied in admitting a perſon to bail who had been committed by parliament, expreſſed himſelf thus: "The Duke of York told me, on ſpeaking on that head, that Lord Danby's releaſement could give him no fear, becauſe it would be a ſtill greater ſecurity that there was to be no parliament for a long time."

Barillon writes on the 13th November 1684, and 8th January 1685, that the ſcheme was communicated to him of reforming the Iriſh army, by bringing papiſts into it, and making it a ſecurity for the King to truſt to againſt his other ſubjects. And at an after-period, to wit, on the 2d of April 1685, he writes, that King James had given the Duke of Ormond's regiment of cavalry to Talbot (afterwards Lord Tyrconnel, and a papiſt) becauſe his brother had intended it.

Between the diſſolution of Charles's laſt parliament and his death, Barillon's diſpatches having no great political objects, are full of the intrigues of the court. They ſhow that the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, after the diſſolution of the parliament, changed her conduct intirely, owned to the King ſhe had been miſled by the popular party in the affair of the excluſion, believing that it would procure quiet to the King, whereas ſhe was now convinced that it was he who was aimed at through his brother, connected her intereſts with thoſe of the Duke of York, and brought Lord Sunderland again into adminiſtration on his promiſe of doing the ſame.

I was at much pains to find out, whether there was any evidence among Barillon's diſpatches of an intrigue, by the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, at the end of Charles's reign, to bring the Duke of Monmouth to court at the expence of the Duke of York, who was to be ſent away to Scotland; and another by Lord Halifax to bring about a reconciliation of the King with the Prince of Orange at the expence of France.

Barillon writes on the 7th of December 1684, that the Duke of York had then told him, that it was intended he ſhould go to Scotland ſoon, to hold a parliament there. He writes on the 14th and 18th December of that year, that the Duke of Monmouth was ſecretly in London: And a marginal note in Barillon's account of the death of King Charles (hereafter to be printed) ſays, that the King had then ſeen him. Barillon writes on the 8th January 1684, that Halifax was at that time at great pains to perſuade the King to be reconciled to the Prince of Orange and Duke of Monmouth. It appears from Barillon's diſpatch of the 26th of July 1685 (to be printed in Appendix to Part I. Book II.), that Louis the XIVth had in the year 1684 diſcontinued the ſubſidy due to Charles by the ſecret treaty of the year 1681; the reaſon of which probably was, either becauſe he thought he ſtood no longer in need of the friendſhip of Charles, or becauſe he thought a reconciliation between him and the Prince of Orange impoſſible: And perhaps this might have irritated Charles againſt France, towards the end of his life. Theſe things make it not impoſſible that ſome change was in agitation. But the evidence rather lies that the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, whom Charles often duped as well as he did his miniſters, was ignorant at leaſt of that part of the intrigue which regarded the intereſt of the Duke of

York. For on the 30th of November 1684 Barillon writes, that the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth, thinking herſelf dying, had adjured the King to ſtand by his brother, and had made him ſwear to do ſo; and that Charles told this to the Duke of York, who deſired Barillon to thank her. And Barillon in a letter in the next reign ſays, that the firſt viſit which King James paid after his brother's death, was to the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth.

King Charles, two years before his death, came to know, that Louis the XIVth, in pretending to be his friend, had been intriguing againſt him with that part of his ſubjects which oppoſed him: And perhaps the conſciouſneſs that he was unpopular at home, diſtruſted by foreigners, and betrayed by that very Prince in whoſe cauſe he had ſuffered, brought on the melancholy which was obſerved in him towards the end of his reign.

The following three letters from Lord Preſton, concerning the King's indignation at Faliſſeau, the perſon who had ſome years before been ſent by the whig party to form meaſures with the French court, are in Lord Preſton's copy book of letters.

Lord Preſton to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—King Charles refuſes to receive Faliſſeau as envoy, who had formerly been ſent by the whig party to the French court.—In Mr. Graham's poſſeſſion.

SIR, Paris, December 16, S. N. 1682.

"MONS. Spanheim, the envoy of Brandenbourg, drawing me aſide yeſterday, told me that he had of late been very uneaſy, with the apprehenſion that his Majeſty may have an ill opinion of him for the part which he hath ſeemed to have borne in the buſineſs of Monſ. Faliſſeau, and that the great honour he hath always

ways teſtified for him, and the great obligations which he hath to him, do oblige him to endeavour to juſtify and clear himſelf from having any deſign contrary to his ſervice in whatever he hath done in that affair. He ſaid, that when he was in England, the Elector, his preſent maſter, writ to him to find out a man, who would weekly give him a good account of what paſſed there, and that he would allow him a good penſion for it. That accordingly he recommended one Mr. Eglionby, who for ſome time continued to write; but his news being generally not very authentic, and often very ſtale, he was ordered to diſcharge him, and to find out another who might correſpond more exactly and more faithfully with him. He then caſt his eyes upon Monſ. Faliſſeau, as one qualified to give the Elector ſatisfaction on this matter, he having alſo a year before recommended him to him as one capable of ſerving him at home. It is true, he ſaid, that when he named him, he aſſured him he had known him in that employment, but that he had no dependance on any one; and that for himſelf, he had had no manner of habitudes or familiarity ever with any perſon in whoſe ſervice he had been. Monſ. Faliſſeau embracing the propoſal, continued to write to Berlin for eight months entire, in which time the elector was ſo well ſatisfied with his advices, that he wrote him word, he was reſolved to make him his reſident in England, ſo far was he from being the firſt mover of this thing. It could not then be imagined, he ſaid, that he ſhould be ſent thither as an incendiary under the protection of a character, the Elector, his maſter, never having concerned himſelf in the intrigues of any court, it being alſo an inſtruction to all his miniſters which he ſent abroad, not to be of any cabals, or to countenance any factions in the court where they reſide. He ſaid more, that he found by his letters, that his Majeſty would be moved

again

again in this affair, and desired to receive the credentials of Monſ. Faliſſeau. That the Elector was concerned at what had paſſed, and thought, that he not being born a ſubject of England, could not well be refuſed as a miniſter there, without ſome good cauſe aſſigned. However, he was very ſure, that he being owned once one, if his Majeſty had the leaſt occaſion to be diſſatisfied with his conduct, upon intimation of it, he would forthwith be recalled. I anſwered, that I had heard what had paſſed concerning that perſon in England, but that I had not much enquired why he was not owned as the Elector's reſident; but perhaps the ſame reaſon that had obliged his Majeſty to refuſe him at firſt, might ſtill be ſtrong againſt his receiving of him now. He ſaid, he hoped not; and that though he had no order to ſpeak this to me, yet he was very glad of the opportunity of juſtifying himſelf in ſome meaſure in this matter to me."

Lord Preſton to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Charles orders Faliſſeau to leave the kingdom.

SIR, Paris, Dec. 23, S. N. 1682.

"MONS. Spanheim took an occaſion again yeſterday to ſpeak to me on the affair of Monſ. Faliſſeau, he having received an account from England of his Majeſty's laſt orders to him to depart the kingdom, as alſo the copies of the letters which paſſed betwixt the King and the Elector, which, I ſuppoſe, were tranſmitted to him from Berlin: By the favour of Mr. Blathwayte I was alſo adviſed of what had paſſed, and had alſo the copies of thoſe letters which enabled me the better to juſtify the reaſons which his Majeſty had to do what was innocent; however, he could have wiſhed that his Majeſty would not have expreſſed his reſentment ſo ſuddenly againſt Faliſſeau, upon the receipt of the Elector's letter.

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I answered, that he had more reason to be satisfied with the civility and respect which his Majesty had expressed to the Elector on the proceeding, because that whilst he bore the character of his resident, he was suffered to continue in England purely out of that consideration, though the reasons were, at that time, as strong for sending him away as now, and was never ordered to depart the kingdom, till the Elector had, by his letter to his Majesty, declared that he had ordered him to desist from pressing to be acknowledged as his minister. He could not say much to this, but seemed to lay great blame upon the Imperial and Spanish ministers, as being the occasion of what had happened."

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—On the same subject.

SIR, Paris, February 10, S. N. 1683.

"MONS. Spanheim yesterday, at Versailles, told me, that he was commanded by the Elector, his master, to acquaint me, that he was troubled that he had given a character to Monsr. Falisseau, since he was a person so unacceptable to his Majesty; if he had known that he would not have been agreeable to him, he would by no means have sent him; and he desired me to assure his Majesty of this. He said further, that his Electoral Highness was troubled and surprised at one expression in his Majesty's last letter to him, which seemed to intimate that he had held correspondence with his disaffected subjects, and given them encouragement to continue in their disobedience; and did assure me in his name, and did desire me to do the same to his Majesty, that he never had had any commerce with them, and that he had given no commission to his minister to entertain it, nor that ever he would: But that he did not think fit to answer

anſwer the letter, becauſe it might occaſion new diſputes, and rather hinder than promote that good intelligence which he would endeavour to have with his Majeſty. Monſ. Spanheim alſo, upon his own account, made profeſſions of ſervice to his Majeſty, having received great obligations and favours from him. I told him, I ſhould not fail to repreſent what he had told me to the King, my maſter, who, I doubted not, had the ſame deſire of living well with his Electoral Highneſs, and that he would be ready, upon any occaſion, to make it appear. You will be pleaſed to let me know in your next, if his Majeſty will have any thing ſaid in return to Monſ. Spanheim."

Charles was alſo informed by Lord Preſton of the intrigues of Mr. Hampden, Mr. Montagu, and Dr. Burnet, in France at this time.

Lord Preſton to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Mr. Hampden recommended by Barillon to the Archbiſhop of Paris.

SIR, Paris, January 20, S. N. 168$\frac{2}{3}$.

"I HAVE received the honour of two of yours, of January 1ſt, S. V. in anſwer to my letter concerning Mr. Hampden, and I moſt heartily thank you for it; you may be aſſured that I ſhall always acquaint you with any thing of conſequence which comes within my knowledge, when I can ground my belief well. I own that at firſt ſight, the circumſtance of Mr. Hampden being recommended to the archbiſhop of Paris is a little unaccountable; but if you will conſider that there is not a more intriguing man in the world than the archbiſhop, and alſo that he and father Le Chaiſe are employed under-hand to carry on all ſorts of deſigns, as well

well temporal as other, by this King's miniſters; and alſo that there can be nothing of more advantage to their religion, than to keep on foot the diſpute amongſt the Engliſh proteſtants, and the diviſions in our church, for which no perſons are fitter than thoſe of Mr. Hampden's principles; you will not find it ſtrange that he ſhould have been addreſſed to him: Beſides you will imagine that things of this kind being not ſo much avowed, yet it would be a little too plain to have given him recommendations to Monſ. de Louvois [illegible] to Monſ. de Colbert. Upon the whole matter, I have much reaſon to believe that the thing is true."

Lord Preſton to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—To the ſame purpoſe.

SIR, Paris, January 2, S. N. 1683.

"I HAVE been endeavouring for ſome time to trace Mr. Hampden the younger in his travels through France, Swiſſerland and Germany, in all which places he hath been extremely induſtrious to vilify and miſrepreſent our governors and government, both in church and ſtate, and here in particular he hath blown up the proteſtants, and given them ſtrange impreſſions of the King and his miniſters. At this, however, I ſhould not have wondered much, becauſe I know it is the principle of his family to hate their Prince, and to endeavour to ruin our monarchy. But I muſt confeſs I am ſurpriſed at this, with which I ſhall acquaint you, and which I certainly know to be true, and can prove it by one of undoubted worth, who had it from his own mouth, which is, that he had a letter of recommendation from Monſ. de Barillon to the Archbiſhop of Paris, and that he was at leaſt four or five times with him during his ſtay here. This matter got wind amongſt

the proteſtants, which made them entertain ſome ſuſpicion of him, though before he was looked upon as one ſent from heaven to ſave them. He hearing of this, was forced to own that he had ſuch a letter, but that he did not viſit the archbiſhop, but ſent it by another hand. I muſt, Sir, ſpeak the truth to you, and tell you that it is evident to him, who obſerveth the leaſt, that the phanatic party is highly countenanced from hence, whatever may be pretended to the contrary; and that though the hand is at preſent invisible that keeps the breach open, yet in time the effect will ſhew its cauſe. I hint this, Sir, only to yourſelf: I confeſs I do not know what uſe you can make of it, more than that perhaps you will think fit to have an eye upon that gentleman, and that it may enable you to judge better of the proceedings of ſuch men, who pretend to reform ſo very thoroughly as he and his party do, and alſo of their ends."

Lord Preſton to the Lord M. of Halifax.—Former intrigues of Montagu, and preſent of Burnet with France.

My Lord, Paris, Nov. 5, S. N. 1683.

"SINCE my laſt to your Lordſhip, I had ſome more lights concerning Mr. Montague, and I have them from an original hand, and I dare aſſure your Lordſhip of the truth of them. He did twice, during his ſtay here, deſire to ſee this King in private, and twice it was refuſed to him, he being told the laſt time, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty did not think fit to ſee him at this time, when he had ſo good a correſpondence with the King, our maſter, and when he, Mr. Montague, was ſo ill with him. When he could not obtain an audience, he then, by the ſame hand, deſired to know, if he might not expect ſome money as a gratification, he having

having at this time occaſion for it. He was denied that alſo, which made him make more haſte away than he deſigned to do at his arrival here. I am told he intends to leave my Lady Northumberland at Montpellier, and to paſs the winter himſelf in Italy; at leaſt he pretends this. I remember I took particular notice of the word *gratification*, when this thing was told me, and I deſired to know if that was his term which he uſed, and the perſon who told me, aſſured me a ſecond time that it was. It need not be obſerved to your Lordſhip, *that gratification pre-ſuppoſeth ſervice.* I have, ſince I had this account, conſidered why Mr. Montague ſhould have been treated worſe than Dr. Burnet, and I can only think of theſe reaſons for it. Firſt, he cannot be ſo uſeful at this time as the doctor, who, if he be gone into England, may continue his former practices with the diſcontented party. In the next place, if Mr. Montague had had a reception, it could not have been excuſed ſo to the King, our maſter, as that of Dr. Burnet was by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, pretending not to know his character and circumſtances. Or, perhaps, another reaſon might be, the preſent ſcarcity of money here, where they are begun to retrench in all ſorts of expences. It is a queſtion now often aſked at this court in confidence, whether there has been really any ſuch thing as a late conſpiracy in England? Which I take to be one effect of the doctor's late converſation here."

Two years after this, Lord Preſton, in a letter to King James, dated April 28, 1685, to be printed in the Appendix to the next book, treats it as a thing known, that France had had penſioners in the Houſe of Commons, in the reign of Charles the IId, againſt the intereſt of that Prince.

Charles received yet a more mortifying ſtroke, for Lord Preſton gave him intelligence that there had been a deſign in France, though afterwards ſtopped, to make his ſecret negotiations with the Dutcheſs of Orleans public. The circumſtances of it are as follow:

It is known from Engliſh hiſtory, that Charles had been much preſſed by Lord Halifax and Lord Keeper North, to call a parliament after the diſſolution of his laſt one. In the Depot there is a letter from the Duke of York in Scotland, dated 27—17 November, 1681, to Barillon, lamenting and complaining, that the King, in anſwer to a memorial from Van Beuningen, the Dutch Ambaſſador, had promiſed to call a parliament: And it appears from Barillon's diſpatches, that France, as well as the Duke of York, was alarmed with the fear of Charles's calling a parliament. The power of diſcovering the original ſecret treaty, made at Dover in the year 1669, had given Louis a great ſuperiority over Charles, becauſe it laid that Prince at his mercy. One of Barillon's letters, dated 3d July 1680, to his own court, mentions that he had got a diſcretionary power to threaten Charles with that diſcovery, and "to regard this expedient as a ſtroke of thunder, which it is proper to make uſe of in extreme neceſſity." I did not find in any of the papers at Verſailles that the French court gave orders to make a diſcovery of Charles's ſecret negotiations with his ſiſter. But the three following letters from Lord Preſton, in Mr. Graham of Netherby's poſſeſſion, make it not improbable that they did intend it, at the time when they were afraid of Charles's being perſuaded to call a new parliament.

Lord Preſton to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Abbot Primi's book about Charles's ſecret negotiations with the Dutcheſs of Orleans, intended to have been publiſhed by the French miniſtry.

SIR, Paris, July 22, S. N. 1682.

"L'Abbé Primi, an Italian, having lately written, in his own language, an hiſtory of the late wars of this King, did the laſt week, at court, begin to preſent ſome copies of it, and amongſt other perſons did give one to Monſ. de Croiſſy; who the ſame day taking occaſion to look upon the book, fell by chance upon that part of it, in which he ſpeaks of the negotiations with England. He carried the book to the council, and having made a report to the King, in what manner Primi had ſpoken of thoſe negotiations, he ſeemed to be extremely ſurpriſed, and his Majeſty then gave order, that he ſhould be immediately arreſted and ſent to the Baſtile, as he then was, where he now remains, and that his papers ſhould be ſeized, and all the copies of his book ſuppreſſed, which was done accordingly; but, however, ſome of them are diſperſed abroad, though I cannot yet, by any means, get one of them to ſend to you, but I have obtained liberty to tranſcribe a paſſage out of it which concerns England moſt, which I ſend incloſed to you to ſhew his Majeſty. The hiſtory of this Abbé Primi (as near as I can inform myſelf), is this: He came to the court ſome years ſince, upon no other account than to tell fortunes; he pretending great ſkill in phyſiognomy and palmiſtry, and under that pretext, he inſinuated himſelf much into the company of the ladies, and amongſt the reſt, he became very particularly acquainted with Madame la Compteſſe de Soiſſons. After ſome time, he thought that writing the hiſtory of this

King and his actions would be a very good way of making his court; having alſo that proſpect which others of his countrymen have, of ſucceeding Monſ. l'Abbé Syri in his employ of hiſtoriographer in the Italian tongue, for which he hath a penſion of 1000 crowns. But he having no great ſtock of learning, nor being well acquainted with the elegancies of his own language, became acquainted with Monſ. de Roſe, ſecretary of the cabinet, with Monſ. d' Angeau, and with l'Abbé de Choiſy, which laſt was to tranſlate his hiſtory into French. Theſe his friends have obtained for him ſeveral gratifications from the King, which have alſo been given him upon account of his work. With theſe ſupplies he was enabled to make an impreſſion of this book more than a year ſince, and hath ſhewed ſome parts of it to his friends, though he hath kept the firſt part of the hiſtory very cloſe till he publiſhed it within theſe three days. Upon the firſt notice that I had of this book, I was reſolved to have ſpoken to Monſ. de Croiſſy about it, but hearing at the ſame time that the author was in the Baſtile, and that the copies were ſuppreſſed, I reſolved to ſay nothing till I ſhould have the commands of the King, my maſter, in it. It is, I am told, reported about this town, that the King, my maſter, having notice of this book, ſent to the King here an account of it, and alſo deſired that the writer of it might be ſecured. All that I ſay to it is, that I do not believe the King, my maſter, hath yet ſeen or heard of the book, but that I do not doubt, but when he doth, he will demand ſatisfaction againſt the writer, finding himſelf ſo injuriouſly and baſely treated, and ſo impudently abuſed by a falſe and mercenary ſcribbler. If the King will have any thing done in this matter, I ſhall be ready to obey his commands. However, I think it my duty to give you as early notice as I can of any thing which may reflect

reflect upon my master or the government, as this doth. (Here follows in cypher) *I am afraid this book is written with a design to disturb us, and if any thing can make some people madder than they are, this will. 'Tis said some copies are gone into England, doubtless to be reprinted there; therefore it would do well to have an eye upon the press.*

Three things are very observable in this matter.

I. *He hath had a pension upon the account of writing of history.*

II. *He says he had memoirs from the ministers by order.*

III. *The liberty of printing the book was obtained by an extraordinary way; for the Chancellor ordered the privilege to be expedited at the request of the friends of the author, pretending never to have read it.*"

Lord Preston to the Earl of Clarendon.—To the same purpose.

My Lord, Paris, July 20, 1682.

"I HAVE sent to your Lordship by my brother that insolent book of Abbé Primi's, which though disavowed now, was certainly printed with the good leave of this court, but the man had the misfortune to publish it unseasonably. For it was calculated for a parliament, and so came out too soon, which obliged the ministry here to shew some resentment. And I will only desire your Lordship to peruse the licence at the end of the history, and then I will ask you, if you ever saw one more full and ample in your life. I could not get you the Italian one, but have sent you the translation, which is not near so full as the original. I could not get another in Paris; and when you have done with it, be pleased to shew it to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

I believe

I believe it will be ſoon printed in Holland; it was reprinting at Geneva, and I got notice of it, and acquainted Monſieur de Croiſſy with it, and deſired that orders might be taken to ſuppreſs it, which I hope is done."

Extract letter Lord Preſton to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

Paris, December 16, 1682.

"L'Abbé Primi is lately ſet at liberty, and as I am very ſure, hath a penſion ſettled upon him, and a ſum of ready money given him now."

The ſituation of King Charles was the more uneaſy at the end of his reign, on account of the miſerable diſorder in which his domeſtic finances were involved. A pamphlet written by the late Mr. Carte, called *An Anſwer to the Byſtander*, proves to a demonſtration that Charles's revenue, even though it had been managed with œconomy, was inadequate to the expences of government; and it is a very mean as well as falſe policy in an Engliſh parliament to ſtarve an Engliſh King. But beſides this, the careleſs character of King Charles, and that of many of thoſe around him, who formed their characters on his, prevented this revenue, inadequate as it was, from going ſo far as it ought to have done. A Prince who depends upon his people, to be happy muſt be frugal.

Among Lord Keeper North's papers, in the poſſeſſion of Doctor North, there is the following account, written by his Lordſhip, of the diſorders in the management of King Charles's revenue.

An account of divers signal frauds in the conduct and disposition of the public revenues in the time of Charles the IId, by reason of his remissness, which turned vastly to the loss of himself and the nation.—Written by Lord Keeper North.

I. In the Treasury.

It is a true saying, an empty treasury and a rich treasurer. For when there is a full exchequer, there can be no pretences to delay payment, and there will be no extraordinary applications; all things go on even and just; and the King buys cheaper than other men, because he buys more; and if he doth not, officers may be justly named that buy for him, and are without excuse.

But when there wants money, and men crowd to be payed first, give great gratuitys for preference, cannot tell when they are abused, and so cannot complain, consequently they must sell dearer, and they who are entrusted to buy, having a pretence to make a bigger price than the market, do allow greater than needs and take gratuitys, and presume they shall excuse themselves by want of credit.

The guards solicite for want of pay. The gentleman who is paymaster offers, if they will allow 12*d.* per pound, he will save them the trouble of soliciting, and pay them punctually. Sir Stephen Fox.

The King wants money to do it. The same person offers, if he may have good security and 8 *per cent.* he will supply the occasion. He borrows money at 6 and 5, nay by credit of the cash is trusted with other men's running cash without interest, and so makes greater advantage than any officer in England.

Richard Kent the cashier.

Another offers to lend a great sum of money to pay off clamorous debts that lye upon the customs, so that they are anticipated for a great time, and no ready money to be expected. He finds out the creditors, and gives them his own security at time, or buys their debts beforehand. To secure him, he is made cashier of the customs, and only advanceth with one hand to receive with the other.

Charles Duncomb.

The same device serves for other branches of the revenue.

Guy, Lonndes, &c.

The clerks and officers know what is likely to be ordered for payment of any great debt, and give out things to make it desperate, get the order revoked for that purpose, or any other way mortify the creditors, then buy the bills at one half per cent. Many times this advantage is got by intelligence only. Making of debts very bad is very profitable, for they may be bought in very cheap, and the King may be perswaded to pay them. The treasurer who knows this may find his account in it; for the leeches will pay for favour.

Earl Danby, Lonndes and the Bertyes.

Earl of Southampton.

Earl of Southampton's profit lay in disposing of offices when he was treasurer. The King gives 8000 *l.* per annum in lieu of it. And afterwards the Lord treasurers have the 8000 *l.* per annum and recommend also, and it is necessary they should recommend.

Tin was at 2*l.* 10*s.* per cent. an endeavour was for a pre-emption by the act; 80,000 weight of tin was bought. But the act did not pass, then this tin was the King's, and he was fain to sell it for loss. And before it was the King's, the coinage was stopped to make tin dear; but that not doing it was the King's loss.

II. In the Wardrobe.

It is a way in the wardrobe to get debts allowed as payed without vouchers by extraordinary warrant, and before

before the perſons concerned know of it, to buy them at half price, by perſuading them they are deſperate. Whenever debts are vendible, the buyers procure or ſhew hard uſage to make them cheap.

The Earl of Southampton, Maſter of the Wardrobe, died 30,000 *l.* in debt to ſeveral people who gave credit to the office; for he had received money to pay them. By his great merit his ſon gets to be pardoned all accounts, and ſo the heir and the lands became free. The creditors petitioned the King to be paid, but could not obtain it, becauſe they had been already provided for by ſending money to the office.

III. In Farms.

Men will be commiſſioners of the revenue, and manage all, that they may farm to advantage. They will take their farms in the name of beggars that the covenants to the King may be invalid.

IV. By Officers.

Old officers couzen, and then it is ſaid to be worth while to check them by having a new officer for the purpoſe. And in a ſhort time he comes into the confederacy. And then it is a new charge without benefit. Or they will ſay that if their ſalary be mended there will be no need. But when that is done, they cheat again afreſh.

A man in office fit for employment begs leave to ſell his office, and then is diſcontent for a new one, being deſtitute of employment.

Men will have employments who will ſpend more than their profit, and then make account the King owes them what they ſpend as for ſervice, and therefore they muſt have other employments, ſo ſea captains, ambaſſadors, &c. and to oblige noblemen, governments muſt be made

very chargeable, Jamaica, Virginia, &c.; whereas they would be better governed when cheaper.

The great offices of the butlerage and impoſt were paid out of the rent of the priſage duty, and perhaps 500 *l.* per annum only reſerved out of which they were paid. But this 500 *l.* per annum was begged away, and they left in the lurch deſervedly.

Old officers of the houſhold are obſolete; ſo new officers are entruſted for perſonal diligence, and afterwards the place continues. Thus is the treaſurer of the houſehold and the maſter of the jewel houſe ſupplanted by the cofferer and by the treaſurer of the chamber, &c. And diverſe others by the bed-chamber men. Theſe changes at court and the reaſon of them were worth a hiſtory.

When the King is bent to put in a man for merit againſt the liking of his favourites, they will perſuade the Prince it is better to keep the place void; there are enough beſides; there needs no filling it; and ſo on; till they can incline the Prince to beſtow it as they pleaſe.

When men cannot prevail on good natured Princes to remove commiſſioners, their way is to make ſupernumerarys ſo many, that of neceſſity they muſt be reduced, and upon the reducing them they in whoſe province it is may put out whom they pleaſe.

If a man be an enemy to the thing for the perſon's ſake, and the Prince be for the perſon but will be adviſed of the thing; find a perſon grateful to the oppoſer, and that will allay him, and it may be make him promote it, and when he is engaged it may be turned to the old perſon.

Never let the merit of the perſon prevail to have a thing done, that ought not to be, for who ſet upon ſuch projects, will never want perſons of intereſt to preſs upon that ſcore; and no ſtop can ever be put to ſuch grants.

Princes ſhould make eſtabliſhments according to their own occaſions, and not keep up uſeleſs charges. King James

James affected hunting and hawking, and had more officers relating to that than needed in another King's reign; and yet they were kept up.

If there be an invention of ſheathing with lead, or nealing guns; take in partners, thoſe who are to contract and to pay; ſo you may not only have fourteen years monopoly, but which is much better, the King will uſe it for his fleet; and although it be the worſe way, or not worth the coſt, the arts of court and intereſt will prevail. L. Hales. Sir John Chiefly. Earl of Shafteſbury. Prince Rupert. 60 per cent. 16 reduced.

Pretences to avails and fees grow inſenſibly to great abſurdity, even againſt common ſenſe, as that Woodwards ſhall have all windfall and dotard trees, and Farrier all incurable horſes, and the like; and that whatever is preſented belongs to them that wait. This diſcourages the giver; and the other encourageth knavery.

V. In Penſions.

All men are againſt keeping up uſeleſs penſions. But when they fall, one or other that hath the power to get his friend into a place, for his ſake keeps up the penſion.

The Lord Chief Juſtice of Wales hath a penſion, becauſe he doth not practiſe: After him a man that hath intereſt, who doth practiſe, gets the place, and hath the penſion continued, his companion being a favourite. Sir Job Charlton. Sir George Jeffereys.

George Johnſon gets a penſion likewiſe, and ſells the place with the penſion; ſo the King gives a penſion to be ſold, and it muſt be continued becauſe it is bought.

The maſters of chancery muſt have penſions, that they may be men of worth; and they buy and ſell their places; ſo that the penſion comes but to augment the price, and mends not the quality of the office at all.

6. By Boons and Grants.

The King allowed 100*l.* per annum out of the cuſtoms at Lime in Dorſetſhire, for maintenance of the cobb Mr. Elleſden.

(that is, mole) there. This was begged by Mr. Elleſden, a neighbour to the town.

Sir Robert Holmes.

It was ſaid that the fee farm rents of the Iſle of Wight, and neceſſary to the government there, for the ſupport of it, muſt not be ſold. And the governor, Sir Robert Holmes, oppoſed the ſelling them for the ſake of the government; and afterwards he begged them himſelf.

Sir Robert Carr. Sir Thomas Chiefly.

Sir Robert Carr, the chancellor of the Duchy, begs 8 or 900 *l.* per annum of the Duchy rents. Then Sir Thomas Chiefly begs all the arrears of the revenue in the name of Mr. Windham, amounting to 3000 *l.*; ſo the revenue was to be let run into arrear on purpoſe to be begged. He would have been farmer of the whole revenue to make it maintain the officers, and thereby have had all the caſualties himſelf, as if the Duchy were only to maintain the officers. Sure it were better to have the revenue annexed to the crown.

How is it poſſible for a Prince to be out of debt, when it is the intereſt of all about him to have him in debt; and when it is ſo natural and eaſy to run in debt; and when it is a crime to perſuade him to be out of debt? For the parliament builds upon the needs of the crown.

Sometimes a knave gets to be a receiver, or by ſome other means in the King's debt, and gets what he can and hides; then, if he be in favour, pleads inability to pay. This muſt preſently be begged as a deſperate debt; and he underhand procures it for an eaſy compoſition.

The ſure way for debts to be paid, is to have ſuch a contract, that what he (the receiver) binds himſelf ſhall be paid before tallies, and then when a debt comes to be paid, he can ſet it further off at pleaſure. This is ſaid to be at the cuſtom-houſe.

Mr. Kent.

It has been an old trick of officers, to pretend to take no care of debts contracted before their own time, which makes applications warm, but is unjuſt, and deſtroys the Prince's

Prince's credit: For the change of officers is at his pleaſure and more hazardous than life.

VII. In the Navy and Stores.

Chief commanders to the Straits command more ſtores out of the ſtoreſhip than needs; the captain takes leſs, and the maſter of the ſtores ſells the reſt to the King again, and paſſeth his account according to bills and acquittances, and not according to actual delivery. Quære, What other ways they have to make ſuch advantages?

The maſter of the ſtores, when there is great confidence with others, will give receipts for more than he actually receives, and the profit is divided. The remedy is beſt, by ſhifting maſters, or frequent inventories, but eſpecially by ſpies that may betray them, ſo as that they may not truſt any one. Old Mr. Foley.

The Earl of Eſſex would have ſold timber to the King; but the commiſſioners of the navy, or Sir Anthony Diar, would not deal with him. But he was fain to ſell it to Sir Charles Bickerſtaff, who was their cuſtomer; and he ſold it after to the King. The reaſon is plain why they will not deal with any but acquaintances. Sir Charles Bickerſtaff.

The King's works muſt not be done by the great, but by the day; and reaſons are found for it, that it may be dearer: And therefore, they work lazily, purloin, go by the bell, and leave off at the ſtroke of the firſt ſound, as if there was peril in the proceeding. This is not only to the King's loſs, but prejudicial to the neighbourhood, that cannot have labourers diligent; and this charge alſo becomes the means of contracts by the great.

VIII. In the Public Money.

It hath been a plauſible thing to have the mint go gratis, and ſo a great deal of money will be coined; and as a good effect of this, liſts of great ſums of money coined,

coined, are produced. But it is a great charge upon the government; for, by ſome artifice, careleſs coining is produced of pieces, which, though not equal one with the other, put together in great quantities, ſhall anſwer weight. Then do the perſons (not to ſay the goldſmiths) who brought in the bullion, take the weighty pieces and melt them down, and return them to the mint *toties quoties*, &c.; whence it becomes a great policy to make the coin pay for the workmanſhip, and more to prevent melting, which will be practiſed, if money be cheaper than bullion.

The people, no queſtion, who receive ſo much clipped money will endure it. But they who make this unjuſt profit, will clamour at any ſuch regulation. Collect then the wiſdom of antiquity, that went this way to work, and that forbade the taking of any clipped or counterfeit money."

In the *Depot* at Verſailles, there is the following diſpatch, which gives a very minute account of Charles the Second's behaviour in his laſt moments.

Tranſlation.

Mr. Barillon to the King.—Particular account of the death of Charles the Second.

February 18, 1685.

THE letter I do myſelf the honour to write to your Majeſty to-day is only to give you an exact account of what happened of moſt importance at the death of the King of England. His illneſs, which began on Monday morning the 12th of February, had diverſe changes the following

following days; ſometimes he was thought out of danger, and then ſomething happened that made it judged his diſorder was mortal: In fine, on Thurſday 15 February about noon, I was informed from a good quarter, that there were no hopes, and that the phyſicians believed he could not hold out the night. I went immediately to Whitehall: The Duke of York had given orders to the officers who guarded the door of the anti-chamber to let me paſs at any hour: He was continually in the King his brother's room: From time to time he came out to give orders upon what was paſſing in the town. The report was more than once ſpread that the King was dead. As ſoon as I arrived, the Duke of York ſaid to me, "The phyſicians think the King in extreme danger: I deſire you to aſſure your maſter, that he ſhall always have in me a faithful and grateful ſervant." I was five hours in the King's anti-chamber. The Duke of York made me come into the bed-chamber ſeveral times, and ſpoke to me of what was paſſing without doors, and of the aſſurances given him from every quarter that all was very quiet in the town, and that he ſhould be proclaimed King the moment the King his brother was dead. I went out for ſome time to go to the Ducheſs of Portſmouth's apartment. I found her overwhelmed with grief, the phyſicians having taken all hopes from her: However, inſtead of ſpeaking to me of her affliction, and the loſs ſhe was on the point of ſuſtaining, ſhe went into a ſmall cloſet, and ſaid to me, "Monſieur the ambaſſador, I am going to tell you the greateſt ſecret in the world, and my head would be in danger if it was known. The King of England at the bottom of his heart is a Catholic; but he is ſurrounded with Proteſtant biſhops, and nobody tells him his condition, or ſpeaks to him of God: I cannot with decency enter the room, beſides that the Queen is almoſt conſtantly there; the Duke of York thinks of

his own affairs, and has too many of them to take the care he ought of the King's conſcience: Go and tell him I have conjured you to warn him to think of what can be done to ſave the King's ſoul. He commands the room, and can turn out whom he will. Loſe no time; for if it is deferred ever ſo little, it will be too late."

I returned inſtantly to find the Duke of York, and begged him to make a pretence of going to the Queen, who had left the King's room, and who having fainted, was juſt blooded. The room communicated with both apartments: I followed him to the Queen's, and told him what the Ducheſs of Portſmouth ſaid to me. He recovered himſelf as from a deep lethargy, and ſaid, "You are in the right: There is no time to loſe. I will hazard all rather than not do my duty on this occaſion." An hour after, he returned, under the ſame pretence of going to the Queen, and told me he had ſpoken to the King his brother, and found him reſolved not to take the ſacrament, which the Proteſtant Biſhops had preſſed him to receive; that this had ſurpriſed them much, but that one or other of them would remain always in the room, if he did not find a pretence to make every body leave it, in order that he might have an opportunity of ſpeaking to the King his brother with freedom, and diſpoſing him to make a formal renunciation of hereſy, and confeſs himſelf to a Catholic Prieſt.

We thought of various expedients. The Duke of York propoſed that I ſhould aſk leave to ſpeak to the King his brother, to tell him ſomething in ſecret from your Majeſty, and that every body ſhould go out. I offered to do ſo; but repreſented to him, that beſides the great rumour it would make, there was no likelihood of my being allowed to remain in private with the King of England and himſelf long enough for what we had to do. The Duke of York then bethought himſelf of ſending for the Queen, as if it had

had been to take her laſt farewel, and aſk pardon of the King, if ſhe had ever in any thing diſobeyed him, who was on his part to return the ſame ceremony to her. At laſt the Duke of York reſolved to ſpeak to the King his brother in preſence of the company, yet ſo as no perſon might hear what he ſaid to him; becauſe this would remove all ſuſpicion, and it would be believed that he ſpoke to him only of affairs of ſtate, and of what he wiſhed to be done after his death. Thus, without any further precaution, the Duke of York ſtooped down to the King his brother's ear, after having ordered that no one ſhould approach. I was in the room, and more than 20 perſons at the door, which was open. What the Duke of York ſaid was not heard; but the King of England ſaid from time to time very loud, *Yes, with all my heart.* He ſometimes made the Duke of York repeat what he ſaid, becauſe he did not eaſily hear him. This laſted near a quarter of an hour. The Duke of York again went out as if he had gone to the Queen, and ſaid to me, "The King has conſented that I ſhould bring a prieſt to him; but I dare not bring any of the Ducheſs's: They are too well known: Send and find one quickly." I told him I would do it with all my heart, but I believed too much time would be loſt; and that I had juſt ſeen all the Queen's prieſts in a cloſet near the chamber. He ſaid, You are right. At the ſame time he perceived the Earl of Caſtlemethor, who with warmth embraced the propoſal made him, and undertook to ſpeak to the Queen: He came back in an inſtant, and ſaid, "Should I hazard my head in this, I would do it with pleaſure; but I do not know one of the Queen's prieſts who underſtands or ſpeaks Engliſh." On this we reſolved to ſend to the Venetian reſident for an Engliſh prieſt; but as the time preſſed, the Earl of Caſtlemethor went where the Queen's prieſts were, and found amongſt them one Hudelſton a Scotch-

man, who ſaved the King of England after the battle of Worceſter, and who by act of parliament had been excepted from all the laws made againſt the catholics, and againſt the prieſts: They put a wig and gown on him to diſguiſe him, and the Earl of Caſtlemethor conducted him to the door of an apartment that joined by a ſmall ſtep to the King's chamber. The Duke of York, to whom I had given notice that all was ready, ſent Chiffins to receive and bring in Mr. Hudelſton: Soon after, he ſaid aloud, "The King wills that every body ſhould retire, except the Earls of Bath and Feverſham:" The firſt was lord of the bed-chamber, and the other was in waiting. The phyſicians went into a cloſet, the door of which was immediately ſhut, and Chiffins brought Mr. Hudelſton in. The Duke of York, in preſenting him, ſaid, "Sire, here is a man who ſaved your life, and is now come to ſave your ſoul." The King anſwered, "He is welcome." He afterwards confeſſed himſelf with great ſentiments of devotion and repentance. The Earl of Caſtlemethor had taken care to have Hudelſton inſtructed by a Portugueſe Monk of the barefooted Carmelites, in what he had to ſay to the King on ſuch an occaſion; for of himſelf he was no great doctor; but the Duke of York told me he acquitted himſelf very well in his function, and that he made the King formally promiſe to declare himſelf openly a Catholic, if he recovered his health. He then received abſolution, the communion, and even the extreme unction: All this laſted about three quarters of an hour. In the anti-chamber, every one looked at another; but nobody ſaid any thing but by their eyes, and in whiſpers. The preſence of Lord Bath and Lord Feverſham, who are Proteſtants, has ſatisfied the biſhops a little; but the Queen's women, and the other prieſts, ſaw ſo much going and coming, that I do not think the ſecret can be long kept.

After

After the King of England received the communion, his diſorder became a little better: It is certain he ſpoke more intelligibly, and had more ſtrength. We hoped that God was willing to work a miracle by reſtoring him; but the phyſicians judged his illneſs was not abated, and that he could not outlive the night. He nevertheleſs appeared much more eaſy, and ſpoke with more feeling and underſtanding than he had done, from ten at night to eight in the morning. He often ſpoke quite aloud to the Duke of York, in terms full of tenderneſs and friendſhip. He twice recommended to him the Dutcheſs of Portſmouth and the Duke of Richmond. He recommended to him alſo all his other children. He made no mention of the Duke of Monmouth good nor bad. He often expreſſed his confidence in the mercy of God. The Biſhop of Bath and Wells, who was his chaplain, read ſome prayers, and ſpoke to him of God. The King ſhewed by his head that he heard him. The Biſhop was not officious in ſaying any thing particular to him, or propoſing that he ſhould make a profeſſion of his faith. He was apprehenſive of a refuſal; but feared ſtill more, as I believe, to irritate the Duke of York.

He had ſeen him a little before in private; and the Duke returned to Holland.

The King of England was perfectly ſenſible the whole night, and ſpoke upon all things with great calmneſs. At ſix o'clock in the morning he aſked what hour it was, and ſaid, "Open the curtains, that I may once more ſee day." He ſuffered great pain; and at ſeven o'clock they bled him, in hopes it might leſſen his pain. At half an hour after eight, he began to ſpeak with great difficulty: At ten his ſenſes were quite gone; and he died at noon without any ſtruggle or convulſion. The new King retired to his apartment, was unanimouſly acknowledged, and then proclaimed.

I thought it my duty to give your Majeſty an exact account of what paſſed on this occaſion; and I eſteem myſelf

myſelf happy that God granted me the favour to have ſome part in it. I am, &c.

Notwithſtanding that Charles the Second, during more than two thirds of his reign, acted againſt the general inclinations of his ſubjects, yet he died extremely lamented by them. It is not impoſſible that the following ſtroke of his character in the manuſcript notes of the Earl of Dartmouth upon Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory, may account for this.

"I was told by one that was very converſant with him, that he had a conſtant maxim, never to fall out with any body, let the provocation be never ſo great, which he ſaid he had found great benefit by all his life. And the reaſon he gave for it was, that he did not know how ſoon it might be neceſſary to have them again for his beſt friends.

BOOK II.

TEMPER of the Nation.——The King's Declaration.——His Situation with regard to his former Opponents.——Firſt Steps of his Reign.——New Miniſtry.——Coronation.——Situation of the King with regard to the Prince of Orange.——Argyle's and Monmouth's Preparations in Holland.——Argyle's Expedition.——Monmouth's Manifeſto.——His firſt Movements.——Declared King.——His Delays, and Retreat.——His Defeat.——Account of his Letters to the King.——His Interview with the King.——His Execution.——Proceedings of Parliament.——Proceedings in Scottiſh Parliament.——Temper of Scotland.——Cruelties of Kirk and Jeffreys.

1684.

NO Prince ever mounted the throne of England, whoſe firſt meaſures of government ingroſſed more the public attention than thoſe of James the Second. The influence which he was ſuppoſed to have had over the ſpirit of the late King; his continual habit of buſineſs, partly the effect of his temper, but more of his ſituation; the animoſity of parties concerning him; and the various turns of his fortune, who had been twice near excluded from the throne by a party which hated him, and thrice baniſhed from his country by a brother who loved him; had placed him, during many years of the late reign, in a more conſpicuous point of view than even the Sovereign himſelf. The excluſioniſts expected now little mercy from a King to whom they had ſhewn none when he was a ſubject. The diſſenters

Temper of the nation at James's acceſſion.

PART I. BOOK II. 1684.

diſſenters had felt the ſeverity of councils which were imputed to him. Even ſome of the tories watched with anxious minds his firſt ſteps in civil, and ſtill more of them his firſt ſteps in religious concerns. Thoſe who had no fixed principles of party of their own, and who, even in nations the moſt zealous in politics, make a great part of the people, having had their curioſity awakened, and their paſſions inflamed in the late reign, by reciprocal complaints of invaſions upon the conſtitution, which the royal and the popular parties had thrown upon each other, and by the continual rumours of popiſh and of proteſtant plots, ſtood full of expectation to ſee or hear, and relate the earlieſt movements of the new reign.

James's declaration.

The firſt meaſures of James after the death of his brother, were calculated to allay thoſe ferments in the minds of his ſubjects. Having aſſembled the privy council, he made the following ſpeech, magnanimous in its ſentiments, ſimple in its expreſſions :—"My Lords, be- "fore I enter upon any other buſineſs, I think fit to ſay "ſomething to you. Since it hath pleaſed Almighty God "to place me in this ſtation, and I am now to ſucceed ſo "good and gracious a King, as well as ſo very kind a "brother, it is proper for me to declare to you, that "I will endeavour to follow his example, and particu- "larly in that of his great clemency and tenderneſs to "his people. I have been reported to be a man fond of "arbitrary power; but that is not the only falſehood which "hath been reported of me: And I ſhall make it my en- "deavour to preſerve this government both in church "and ſtate, as it is now by law eſtabliſhed. I know "the principles of the church of England are favourable "to monarchy; and the members of it have ſhown "themſelves good and loyal ſubjects; therefore I ſhall "always take care to defend and ſupport it. I know "too, that the laws of England are ſufficient to make

"the King as great a monarch as I can wiſh: And, as "I ſhall never depart from the juſt rights and preroga- "tive of the crown, ſo I ſhall never invade any man's "property. I have often before ventured my life in de- "fence of this nation; and ſhall go as far as any man "in preſerving it in all its juſt rights and liberties."— Theſe popular words were followed by a more popular action. James ordered a new parliament to be ſummoned: Another prudent order was iſſued, directing all perſons to continue in their offices; by which the tranſition of government became imperceptible, and the new reign appeared to be no more than a continuation of the former.

The King's declaration to his council had all the effect which he intended. The council begged it might be publiſhed: It was diſperſed all over the nation: Communities expreſſed their ſatisfaction by addreſſes, individuals by mutual congratulations: Even the pulpits reſounded with its praiſes. From the ſteadineſs of tempor which attached James to his religious principles, an equal attachment to the promiſes contained in his declaration was inferred. The hearts of men overflowed now ſo much the more with love and confidence, becauſe they had before been locked up in fears and jealouſies. Even the excluſioniſts crowded to the palace, awkwardly mingling condolence for the loſs of the late King with joy for the acceſſion of his ſucceſſor. In proportion as any of them reflected upon the activity of his former oppoſition, he endeavoured, by the early court which he paid, to wipe off the remembrance of it in James. The uſual compliments of reſpect paid to every new ſovereign by his ſubjects of condition, with the uſual gracious returns to thoſe compliments, diffuſed an appearance of ſatisfaction through the court, while the attention to magnificent trifles preparatory to a coronation, ſpread an air of unconcern and feſtivity through the capital.

Apparent cordiality between James and his ſubjects.

PART I. BOOK II.

1684. Symptoms of mutual diſtruſt.

Yet, amidſt theſe outward appearances of general ſatisfaction, James could not help behaving to many of the excluſioniſts, who came to wait upon him, with a viſible diſpleaſure. Some of them he refuſed to ſee; others were received coldly; and a few even with frowns: Impotent marks of diſgrace to men of independent fortunes, of high birth, and higher ſpirits. He refuſed to give Montagu his hand to kiſs, ſaying, he could forgive injuries done to himſelf, but not to his brother. He removed the Duke of Richmond, ſon to the Ducheſs of Portſmouth, from his ſtation of maſter of the horſe, conferred by his father upon him from his tendereſt years. His reception of Lord Halifax was differently talked of, according to the different humours of men. For, when this Lord, who had oppoſed the excluſion with great eloquence, but had alſo oppoſed the Duke's influence at the end of the late reign, was making apologies to James for the latter part of his conduct; that Prince, interrupting him, ſaid, "I will "forget all your behaviour, except that in the affair of "the excluſion:" A compliment which diſcovered delicacy and gratitude; but which alarmed ſome, who obſerved that it diſcovered remembrance of the event to which it alluded. But James's remembrance of paſt injuries became leſs ambiguous, when he ordered Sprat Biſhop of Rocheſter to publiſh a relation of the Ryehouſe plot under the royal authority. This relation was written with great virulence of expreſſion upon paſt heats; and in it an averment was made, that James knew of 20,000 perſons who had been engaged in that plot: An implied menace, which, by the ambiguity of its object, cauſed every whig in the nation to think it was levelled at him. James, ſoon after, in his letter to the Parliament of Scotland, and in an anſwer to the addreſs of the Houſe of Lords in England, ſpoke of paſt offences in a way which diſcovered that the King of England had not forgot the injuries done to the Duke of York.

James

1684.

James behaved ſtill more unguardedly with regard to religion in the very beginning of his reign: He ordered Huddleſton, the prieſt who had attended the late King in his laſt moments, to publiſh a relation of that Prince's having taken the laſt ſacrament according to the rites of the church of Rome. James publiſhed, in his own name, two papers written in his brother's hand, in favour of the Roman catholic doctrines; and was at pains to declare, he had found them in the royal ſtrong box. He ſhewed them to Sancroft Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who ſaid, "That he did not think the late King had been ſo "learned in controverſy; but that the arguments in the "papers were eaſy to refute." James deſired him to do ſo in writing, if he could. But Sancroft, with a politic compliment, anſwered, "It ill became him to enter into "a controverſy with his ſovereigns." James changed his former cuſtom of going privately to maſs: For, on the firſt Sunday after his acceſſion, he went publicly, and with all the enſigns of royalty, to the celebration of a ceremony which the laws of the kingdom had declared to be criminal. Many were offended with the public ſpectacle of the King's religion, who had long heard with indifference of his profeſſion. The Duke of Norfolk, who carried the ſword of ſtate, ſtopped at the door of the chapel: The King paſſing him, ſaid, "My Lord, "your father would have gone further." The Duke anſwered, "Your Majeſty's father would not have gone "ſo far." Soon after, the King having complained to Kenne Biſhop of Bath and Wells, of a reflection which he was told the Biſhop had made againſt popery, in a ſermon in the chapel-royal, "Sir," anſwered Kenne, "had you attended your own duty in church, my enemies "had miſſed the opportunity of accuſing me falſely."

Imprudencies with regard to religion.

The diſcontents which the obſervation of theſe things produced, were increaſed by the firſt public act of ſtate.

Cuſtoms and exciſe levied without law.

PART I. BOOK II. 1684.

Thoſe branches of the revenue which conſiſted of the cuſtoms, and of part of the exciſe, having been granted by parliament during the life of the late King only, expired at his death. There was little doubt that the next parliament would renew the grant to his ſucceſſor; but ſtill, until that renewal ſhould be made, it was againſt law to levy the duties. Many of the London merchants, who at that time had goods on hand, waited on the commiſſioners of cuſtoms, intreating that the duties might be levied as formerly, in order to prevent their being undersold by thoſe who ſhould make importations before the parliament could be aſſembled. The commiſſioners, who ſaw their own danger in ordering their officers to levy duties without law, waited in a body upon the treaſury, to know what conduct they were to follow. The treaſury, which ſaw equal danger in directing that conduct, made anſwer to the commiſſioners, "That the laws lay before "them, and they might judge for themſelves." The difficulty was carried to the privy council. Lord Chief Juſtice Jeffreys, with the haſte and violence natural to his temper and habits, moved, "That the King ſhould "inſtantly iſſue a proclamation, commanding the revenue "to be levied, and employed as in the former reign." Lord Keeper North adviſed, "That the duties ſhould "be paid in to exchequer, and kept there ſeparate "from all others, until the next parliament ſhould diſ"poſe of them." Others propoſed, "That bonds only "ſhould be taken for the duties, to ſtand in force until "the ſame period *." The opinion of Jeffreys was followed. The old remembered the civil wars and miſeries brought on the nation by the attempts of the King's father to levy part of the very ſame duties without conſent of parliament. The young had heard theſe miſeries recounted by the old. Men of reflection perceived public conveniency promoted, but public liberty invaded.

* Life of Lord North, 254.

In

In order to cover this measure from national censure, the court procured addresses from many public bodies of the kingdom approving of it. The barristers and students of the Middle Temple, whose province it is to know the constitution, but whose profession is dependent, thanked the King, "That he had been graciously pleased to extend his royal care of the government to the preservation of the customs;" and concluded their address with a prayer, "That there might never be wanting millions as loyal as they, to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in support of his Majesty's sacred person and prerogative, *in its full extent.*" The university of Oxford declared, "They could never swerve from the principles of their institution, and their religion by law established in the church of England, which indispensably bound them to bear all faith and obedience to their Sovereign, *without any restrictions and limitations.*" Compliments by public bodies to the Sovereign for the breach of the laws, only served to remind the nation that the laws had been broken. 1624.

New ministry.

The suspicions which James's protestant subjects entertained of his partiality to the Roman catholics, gave room for Sunderland, in the settlement of the ministry, to exert his talents for intrigue. James, remembering ancient injuries, and distrusting recent services, had resolved to send him abroad upon an embassy. Sunderland got intelligence of this, and also that the king intended to appoint Hyde, lately created Earl of Rochester, High Treasurer, partly to oblige the church party, of which that Lord was vain to be accounted the head, and partly on account of decency, because he was uncle to the Princesses. But Sunderland, concealing from Rochester what he knew, pretended that he was managing that honour for him with the King, and at the same time alarmed him with the danger to which their common interests

PART I. BOOK II. 1684.

tereſts were expoſed from Roman Catholic influence. Rocheſter, in return, prevailed upon the King to continue the ſeals in Sunderland's hands. Rocheſter, whoſe high principles in church-matters led him to principles equally high in thoſe of government, urged that none but rigid tories ſhould be admitted into the King's ſervice: On this ſubject, a converſation between him and Lord Keeper North was repeated: North had ſaid, that he thought people ought to be brought into employments, rather for their abilities and experience, than for their party attachments *: Rocheſter, raiſing his voice, anſwered, "God's wounds! my Lord, don't you think "that in one month's time I could underſtand any buſi-"neſs in England?" "Yes, my Lord," replied the other dryly, "but you could underſtand it much better "in two." But Sunderland adviſed James to mix different humours in his council; and Ormond having returned from Ireland ſooner than the late King had directed, Clarendon, brother to Rocheſter, was appointed Lord Lieutenant in his ſtead. Halifax, to whom Rocheſter was a mortal enemy, becauſe he had been accuſed by Halifax of purloining the public treaſure, was placed at the head of the council-board. Lord Godolphin was degraded from ſtations he had once poſſeſſed, of ſecretary of ſtate and head of the treaſury, to be chamberlain to the Queen. Arlington, notwithſtanding the open court he had long paid to the Prince of Orange, was continued Lord Chamberlain. The other great officers remained in their ſtations. So that the miniſtry was compoſed chiefly of men hating each other, ſuſpecting the King, and ſuſpected by him; ſome of whom were partial to the views of the Prince of Orange, and others to his perſon. And indeed, the late King, by changing his miniſters ſo often, had made it very difficult to find a number of per-

* Lord North's Life.

ſons

ſons of figure who were attached to each other, and to his ſucceſſor at the ſame time.

1684.

During the coronation of James, the crown, not being properly fitted to his head, tottered. Henry Sidney, keeper of the robes, afterwards ſo famous for the miſchiefs he brought upon James, kept it once from falling off, and ſaid with pleaſantry to him, "This is not the firſt "time our family has ſupported the crown." It was reported too, that on the ſame day, the window of a church in which the King's arms were painted on glaſs, had fallen down without any viſible cauſe. Theſe trifles were obſerved and talked of at the time;—a ſure proof that the minds of the people were under unuſual agitations. Coronation.

While theſe things were paſſing in public, James was underhand going on in his old practices with France. His firſt converſation, the day after his brother's death, to Barillon, was a ſure prognoſtic of his future fate. He made a formal apology for having called a parliament, alleging in his excuſe, that he did it only with a view to get his brother's revenue ſettled upon him by fair means, which, if he could not obtain from parliament, he would take from his ſubjects by force. He expreſſed at the ſame time his intention of reigning without parliaments, his arbitrary views of government, and his reſolutions in favour of popery: And he propoſed the ſtricteſt connection of intereſts with France, and that Louis ſhould ſupply him with money to enable him to compaſs the ends which he aimed at. Louis the XIVth catched greedily at the hint. He inſtantly remitted 500,000 livres to Barillon, to be given to the new King to anſwer the exigencies of a new reign; but charged him to make James believe that the money had been ſent upon the firſt news of his brother's death, and without knowing that he had aſked it. James received the preſent with tears in his eyes, The King's ſecret practices with France.

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eyes, and with these words to Barillon: "It is the part "of the King your master alone to act in a manner so "noble and so full of goodness to me. I own to you, "that I feel more sensibly what he has done in this, than "any thing that may happen to me in the course of my "life; for I plainly see the bottom of his heart, and how "desirous he is that my affairs may prosper. He has "even outrun what I could possibly have wished, and has "prevented my wants. I can never enough acknowledge "such a proceeding. Inform him of my gratitude, and "be my pledge for the attachment I shall for ever have "to him."

Immediately after, the Lords Sunderland, Rochester, and Godolphin, entered upon a negociation with Barillon; and Churchill was dispatched to Paris on the same errand. The terms asked of Louis were, three millions of livres in hand, and a pension of two millions for two years besides; Rochester urging strongly, Godolphin more faintly, the necessity of the King's having these sums for establishing his power; and Sunderland adding, that without them, it was impossible to establish the Roman catholic religion in England. Sunderland went still further; for, to pay court to Louis and his master, he proposed a direct junction of England and France, against the Prince of Orange, the House of Austria, and the Parliament of England. Louis the XIVth kept the treaty open, gave James from time to time 300,000 livres more than the 500,000 livres which had been sent him at first, and remitted 1,500,000 livres to England. But Barillon received orders not to deliver them, unless in the event of James's dissolving his parliament, and proceeding to extremities against his subjects; Louis anticipating thus in imagination, the transports which the distractions of England give always to France.

Not-

1684.

Notwithstanding these secret transactions with France, the new ministers attempted to bring about a reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Orange. When the late King died, James, to mortify the Prince, had notified the event to him only in a few dry lines, and even excused himself to Barillon for having notified it to him at all *. The Prince upon this sent over Overkerque to make apologies for whatever had given offence to the late or present King, and to promise a strict obedience to the King's will for the future. James refused at first to receive his submissions, unless he would make them also to Louis, by altering his conduct with regard to France. However he afterwards softened his tone; to which perhaps the malignant satisfaction of seeing the Prince reduced to stoop and court him, contributed; and more decent appearances took place on both sides. For, as it was the interest of James to make the discontented part of his subjects believe that the Prince of Orange was attached to his person; so it was equally for the advantage of the Prince to be thought on good terms with the King, in order to support in Holland the reputation of his own power, and to raise jealousies in the mind of the French King. The Prince readily complied with the desire of his father-in-law, to remove Monmouth from Holland, to concur in persuading the Spaniards to refuse him refuge in Flanders, and to dismiss his adherents from their employment in the British regiments in the service of the Dutch †; though, at the same time, he took care to provide for most of them ‡ in the service of different German Princes. He even submitted to the recal of Mr. Sidney, afterwards Earl of Romney, whom he loved, from the command of the British forces in the Dutch service, and to the appointment of Skelton, whom

Vain attempts to reconcile the King and the Prince of Orange.

Coldness between the King and Prince of Orange.

* Vide Appendix. † D'Avaux, 1685. ‡ Ibid.

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he hated, to be envoy in Holland, after remonſtrating againſt both meaſures. But he refuſed with ſpirit to give the command of the troops to Lord Carlingford, a Roman catholic recommended by the King. James, on the other hand, offended with the delays of Louis in concluding the private money treaty with him, which he had ſolicited, took * ſome high meaſures on points of honour with the French, talking in public of taking ſtill higher on more material articles, and propoſed a defenſive alliance with the Dutch, which he afterwards formed †, and a junction of intereſts with the Prince: And he even interpoſed, though in vain, with France, to reſtore the principality of Orange to the Prince. But as in theſe advances James's object was to maintain peace, that he might be independent of parliament for ſupplies, encourage commerce, of which he was fond, and, above all, procure leiſure for the converſion of his ſubjects, which he was reſolved to accompliſh; and, on the other hand, the Prince's only object was to raiſe war againſt France,—the advances ended in nothing. The ſalvos which the Prince often made with regard to religion ‡, in the aſſurances of attachment which he gave, whether the effects of honour, or of the uſe he intended to make of them, James thought had an inſidious air. Ancient enmities are often increaſed by attempts to remove them: And, while the King of England's ſubjects flattered themſelves with an alliance of England and Holland againſt France, the King diſcloſed all his jealouſies of the Prince of Orange to Barillon the French ambaſſador ‖.

Earl of Argyle rouſes Monmouth.

But appearances of an invaſion from Holland ſoon increaſed the jealouſies of James. Argyle had continued in the Low Countries from the time that the ſentence of attainder was obtained againſt him by the King, when

* D'Avaux, 1685; and Burnet. † D'Avaux, 1685.
‡ Ibid. 1684, 1685. ‖ Ibid. Vide Appendix, No. 1.

Duke

Duke of York. Monmouth had reſided in the ſame countries, after the detection of the Ryehouſe-plot. The ſimilarity of fate formed a connection between two perſons in whoſe characters there was but little reſemblance. Argyle, continually ſtung with the remembrance of his own injuries, endeavoured to inflame Monmouth with ſimilar ſentiments. He * preſſed him to invade England, and offered to make an invaſion on Scotland at the ſame time. He gave aſſurances, "That as he was himſelf the "head of a numerous highland clan, and his father had "been head of the covenanters, great numbers of his "countrymen would join him: That the clemency "which Monmouth had ſhewed to the covenanters after "the battle of Bothwell-bridge, had made his name as "dear in Scotland, as that of James, who had perſecuted "them, was odious: That in England, the ſame great "body of excluſioniſts, who had joined to prevent the "King from mounting the throne, would again join to "pull him down: And that though, from the want of "parliaments during the laſt years of the late reign, "the voice of that party had not for ſome time been "heard, it would now break forth with violence, in-"creaſed by its interruption: That the late diſmiſſion "of his adherents from the Dutch regiments, inſured "him of a body of officers, ſtimulated by the two moſt "powerful of all motives, revenge and want: That a "Prince ſcarce ſeated on his throne, whoſe ſubjects "were divided, and whoſe forces muſt be ſeparated to "oppoſe different inſurrections, could not withſtand a "double attack from England and Scotland at one time." He pointed out to the Duke, who was fond of glory, the examples of ancient heroes, and the honour of having his name handed down to poſterity as the deliverer of his country. He allured him, who was young, and ſan-

1685.

* D'Avaux, March 12, 1684.

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guine in his friendſhips and reſentments, by the ſweets of revenge, and the power he could gain of doing good to thoſe who had ſuffered for his ſake. He took advantage of the hatred and competition uſual among relations where friendſhip has ceaſed, to revive ancient, to create new animoſities. He urged him by motives of his perſonal ſafety: "For that James, implacable in his reſent-"ments, and cruel through fear, had driven him from "England, had prevailed upon the Prince of Orange, "and the court of Spain, to refuſe him a refuge in Hol-"land, or in Flanders, and would never be at reſt, until "he had ſtript him of fortune, rank, and * perhaps of "life. And, laſtly, that every minute he delayed the "attempt, he ſtrengthened his enemy, and weakened "himſelf." The Duke continued long irreſolute: One of his letters † to Spence, ſecretary to the Earl of Argyle, ſhews, that, diſappointed in ambition and dejected with misfortunes, he had reſolved upon retirement. His tender paſſion for Lady Harriot Wentworth, and which he accounted it honourable to indulge for a woman who had ſacrificed her all for his love, was ill ſuited to call him to the fields of glory and danger. But at length thoſe importunities, and that eloquence, which, in one of a manly ſpirit, who ſpeaks in his cauſe what he feels, ſeldom fails to perſuade, made Monmouth, who all his life was more apt to truſt the judgment of others than his own, yield to the intreaties of Argyle. Argyle perſuaded a widow in Holland to lend him 10,000l. for his expedition. Monmouth, not having the ſame powers of perſuaſion, was obliged to pawn his jewels. Each of them bought three veſſels, and a quantity of arms: They recalled ſome of their friends from the German regiments, in which the Prince of Orange had placed them; and they were joined by other diſbanded officers, who had not as yet been

* Pere Orleans, lib. xi. p. 562. † In Welwood.

provided

provided for *. They ſettled a correſpondence in England †, as well as the ſhortneſs of the time would permit, with the moſt conſiderable perſons who had been engaged in the Ryehouſe-plot. Theſe were all the preparations they made for the conqueſt of three kingdoms. It does not appear certain, that they even adjuſted between them, what character the Duke ſhould aſſume, whether that of a King, or of a ſubject. Monmouth poſſibly reſolved to govern himſelf by incidents according as they ſhould preſent themſelves; and Argyle was too much heated by his own intereſt and his country's, to attend to any other. Argyle ſailed firſt, and for Scotland, with about 100 companions, of whom the moſt remarkable were Ayloff the lawyer, and Rumbold the maltſter, men made famous by the parts they had acted in the Ryehouſe-plot. Monmouth prepared to follow him, and to land in the Weſt of England with 82 officers, and 150 other attendants. Lord Grey, Sir Patrick Hume, and Mr. Fletcher of Salton, were the men of the moſt eminence who attended him. Trenchard ‡, Wildman, and Captain Matthews, ſon-in-law to the unfortunate Sir Thomas Armſtrong, were to join him the moment he landed. But the perſon in whom the Duke of Monmouth chiefly confided, was Mr. Fletcher of Salton; in whom all the powers of the ſoldier, the orator, and the ſcholar, were united; and who, in ancient Rome, would have been the rival and the friend of Cato ‖. Fletcher diſſuaded the Duke from his enterpriſe. Lord Grey urged him to it §.

Indifference of the Prince of Orange.

Theſe preparations made a conſiderable noiſe even in Holland: But, as rumours increaſe by the diſtance they have to run, they made a much greater in England. James, therefore, applied, by Skelton his ambaſſador, to the magiſtracy of Amſterdam, and afterwards to the

* D'Avaux, May 17. † Lord Grey.

‡ He was ſecretary of ſtate to King William.

‖ The ſmall volume of Mr. Fletcher's works, though imperfectly collected, is one of the very few claſſical compoſitions in the Engliſh language.

§ Burnet. Ferguſon's narrative.

States

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States General, to ſtop the embarkation of Monmouth *. But both, under pretence of the forms of office, connived at his eſcape; either from diſlike to James, whoſe connection with France they dreaded, or from reſpect to that refuge which they profeſs to afford to the unfortunate of all nations. The Prince interfered not, excuſing himſelf, becauſe his aſſiſtance was not aſked, and perhaps not diſpleaſed to ſee one expoſe himſelf to ruin who had been rival to the Princeſs for the ſucceſſion, the Engliſh tried in a cauſe which was given out to be that of religion and liberty, and diſturbances raiſed which he might himſelf be called to compoſe. He even pretended to Skelton, that he gave no credit to the reports of the projects of Argyle and Monmouth, although he knew that the one was gone, and the other juſt ready to go. James then inſiſted with the Dutch to ſeize all the Britiſh rebels who had at any time taken refuge in their territories. But † Fagel in public, and the Prince in private, oppoſed the ſucceſs of the application. James, in the laſt place, applied to the Prince for the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh regiments in the ſervice of the Dutch. The Prince ‡, without giving a refuſal, threw difficulties and delays in the way: Soon after, he offered, at one time, to go himſelf to Scotland, and at another time to England, with his own guards; but received this ambiguous anſwer to both offers; "That it was more for the King's intereſt he ſhould "remain where he was ‖." The repreſentation of theſe things by Skelton, who was perſonally § an enemy to the Prince of Orange, becauſe he had once injured that Prince, and ſtill more by the French court to James, completed the breach between him and his ſon-in-law.

Argyle's expedition.

In the mean time, Argyle had landed in Scotland, in May 1685, and to raiſe all his dependants, erected the

* D'Avaux, May 10, 11, 19. June 28.

† D'Avaux, June 7, 1685. ‡ Ibid. May 24, 31. and appendix to this book. ‖ Orleans. § This appears ſtrongly from his correſpondence from France, in the paper office.

fiery

fiery croſs in Argyleſhire, which is a high croſs of wood and iron, raiſed on the top of a mountain, with a blaze of fire on the top; a ſummons of alarm, uſed by Highlanders on great occaſions. He then publiſhed two manifeſtoes. One of them in his own name, complained of his own injuries, and was intended to rouſe his tribe in his cauſe. The other was in his name and that of his followers, and was calculated to bring the covenanters to his ſtandard: For it imputed the misfortunes of the nation to the breach of the national covenant; maintained, that the King, by not complying with it, had forfeited the crown; and declared, that the chief end of his expedition was the ſuppreſſion of prelacy as well as of popery. This enterpriſe was unfortunate in almoſt all its circumſtances. The firſt land he touched at, the Orkneys, was the moſt diſtant part of the country he intended to invade. Moſt of the people, whom he put on ſhore for intelligence, were ſeized, and gave advice of his arrival before he could land. As the Highlanders were, at that time, believers in what is called the Second Sight, a prophecy, that he ſhould have in his cuſtody, James Stuart, of the blood royal (by which name the King went among the covenanters), had made an impreſſion on his mind. But a priſoner, whom Argyle took in the Orkneys, reminded him of this, and told him that the wizard had deceived him, for that the name of his priſoner was James Stuart, and that he was deſcended from the Earl of Orkney, baſtard to James the Fifth *. In ſailing round to the Weſt Highlands, tides and winds, even though favourable, conſumed time: Government had leiſure to make its preparations: And as it was known he would land on the weſt coaſt, where both his family-ſtrength, and that of the covenanters, lay, two ſhips of war were ſtationed there, to watch his motions:

* Lord Fountainhall's manuſcript memorandums.

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tions: The whole militia of the kingdom, conſiſting of 22,000 men, was put in arms; and a third part of it, with 3000 regular forces, was drawn to that ſide: Such of his friends as were ſuſpected, and could be found, were ſeized by order of the council: The King, by his proclamations, and more by the known ſeverity of his temper, deterred, and the parliament, by the authority of its declarations, overawed the covenanters, rebellious, yet not daring to rebel. The Earl, however, was ſoon joined in his own country by about 2000 of his vaſſals and dependants, who foreſaw the ruin, but, according to the manners of their country, were aſhamed that their chieftain ſhould fall alone. About 500 other people joined theſe. Argyle, ignorant of the impriſonment of his friends, and of the terrors of the covenanters, continued, for ſome weeks after his arrival, in Argyleſhire and its borders, rather buſtling than in action. But, perceiving by the movements and ſtations of his opponent, that they intended to confine him where he was, and impatient to join the covenanters, or to be joined by them, he pierced, in the face of his enemies, into the lower parts of the weſt country. But his ſhips were taken, in which was his ammunition; his proviſions were cut off by the numerous parties which ſurrounded him; ſuch of his ſoldiers as had joined him from hopes of plunder, or deſire of change, dropping away by degrees, diſcouraged others; and, in one of his marches in Renfrewſhire, his guide miſtaking the way, led his army into a bog, where the horſes and baggage were loſt. In this diſtreſs, order ceaſed; all commanded, none obeyed; every man took his own counſel, and conſulted his own ſafety. His army diſperſed. The Earl fled alone to conceal his quality, but reſolving, if he was known, to die with his arms in his hands. He was met by two peaſants, who called to him to ſurrender: He fired a piſtol at one of them; the other

gave him a wound in the head, which made him fall from his horſe: He recovered himſelf, and ran to a river near the Clyde to ſwim through: A third attacked him there: The Earl ſnapped his piſtol, but it miſſed fire: The peaſant gave him a blow on the head: He falls, and in falling, cries out, "Unfortunate Argyle!" Struck with the reverſe of fate, one of the peaſants wept, and inſiſted to allow him to eſcape: But the others, terrified by the threats which had been publiſhed againſt thoſe who ſhould give him harbour, refuſed their conſent. He was ſent to Edinburgh, and carried up the Canongate to the common priſon on foot, bareheaded, with his hands tied behind his back, and the executioner walking before him. The old remembered that he had looked over a window to ſee the enemy of his family, the great Montroſe, paſs through the ſtreets in the ſame unhappy condition; and others, that a few years before, he had rode up the ſtreets at the riding of the parliament held by the Duke of York, in all the pomp of ſtate, carrying the imperial crown of Scotland before the Duke. He was beheaded in purſuance of his former ſentence in compliment to the juſtice of it *, dying with a courage which his poſterity inherited †.

1685.

A few days before the diſaſter of Argyle's army, the Duke of Monmouth landed at Lime in Dorſetſhire. In his manifeſto, he declared the ends of his enterpriſe were, that parliaments ſhould be annual, and without a power of prorogation in the crown until grievances ſhould be redreſſed: That ſheriffs ſhould be choſen annually by the freeholders: That a national militia ſhould be eſtabliſhed, to be commanded by the ſheriffs: That no ſtanding forces ſhould be allowed without conſent of parliament: And that the charters of corporations ſhould be reſtored. Thus, while the Scottiſh manifeſto made proviſion only for a particular mode of the Proteſtant religion, the Engliſh manifeſto was directed to the great intereſts of civil liberty.

Monmouth's manifeſto.

* Lord Fountainhall's manuſcript. † Gazettes. Wuddrow.

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But even these generous proposals were disagreeable to the friends of monarchy; because they seemed to impair it too much. The manifesto, in other respects, was imprudent. By complaining to excess of the proceedings of the parliament which was then sitting, it provoked the members of that assembly; by giving insinuations of Monmouth's right to the crown, it made the republicans cold in his cause *; by promising toleration to all Protestant dissenters, at a time when the church and the dissenters were not, as they afterwards were at the revolution, reconciled to each other, it was disobliging to the church. Monmouth, by outrageous invectives, seemed to have forgot both the King's dignity and his own. And his junction of interests with Argyle, who made the covenant the basis of his insurrection, alarmed those who were friends to the constitution in church or state.

Monmouth's first movements.

The Duke was joined by none of the nobility, or gentry of condition, in his operations in England. Some of his friends, whom the Ryehouse-plot had easily marked out, were † seized by government; the rest fled to London, as if their presence in rebellious places could be accounted rebellion: Trenchard even retired into France: All found an excuse for their defection in the faults which they found, or pretended to find, in the terms of Monmouth's manifesto. But the common people, whose favourite he had always been, flocked in such multitudes, almost in an instant, to his standard, that he was obliged to dismiss many of them, for want of arms and pay. At first he was in straits for provisions; but Ferguson having assured him, that he would find subsistence for one day for the army, if the Duke would give him the command of

* Lord Fountainhall relates in his manuscript memorandums, that when Rumbold was taken in Scotland, he said, the Duke of Monmouth had ruined his cause by assuming the title of King, which lost him the republicans, who were his only sure friends. † Lord Grey.

it

it for a minute; and the Duke having conſented; Ferguſon gave orders, that the ſoldiers ſhould obſerve next day as a ſolemn faſt for ſucceſs. In the mean time, Colonel Danvers, a republican officer, prepared to make an inſurrection in the city. Brigadier Hook, the author of the memoirs, who was afterwards pardoned by King James, followed him into France, and became his ſecretary there, when he was ſeized during Monmouth's rebellion, informed James, that Danvers and he had engaged to Monmouth to aſſaſſinate him, if they could not bring about the inſurrection they meditated. PART II. BOOK II. 1685.

Monmouth intended the command of the foot for himſelf, and that of the horſe for Fletcher and Lord Grey. The third day after his arrival, he detached Lord Grey with 300 men to ſtorm Bridport, and Fletcher, with another party, on another expedition. Lord Grey's party ſtormed the town with ſpirit; but he himſelf deſerted his men, fled back to the Duke, and reported they were defeated. News ſoon came that they were victorious. The Duke, confounded, ſaid to Captain Matthews, "What "ſhall I do with him*?" Matthews anſwered, "There "is not a General in Europe who would aſk ſuch a queſ-"tion, but yourſelf." Yet, modeſt in his nature, and fearful to offend, the Duke continued Grey in his command. Fletcher, who did not eſteem times of danger to be times of ceremony, had, in his expedition, ſeized, for his own riding, the horſe of a country gentleman, which ſtood ready equipt for its maſter. The maſter, hearing this, ran in a paſſion to Fletcher, gave him opprobrious language, ſhook his cane, and attempted to ſtrike. Fletcher, though rigid in the duties of morality, yet having been accuſtomed to foreign ſervices both by ſea and land, in which he had acquired high ideas of the honour of a ſoldier and a gentleman, and of the affront of

He loſes Fletcher.

* Ferguſon's narrative.

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a cane, pulled out his piſtol, and ſhot him dead on the ſpot. The action was unpopular in counties where ſuch refinements were not underſtood. A clamour was raiſed againſt it among the people of the country: In a body they waited on the Duke with their complaints; and he was forced to deſire the only ſoldier, and the almoſt only man of parts in his army, to abandon him. With Fletcher, all Monmouth's chances of ſucceſs in war left him.

Monmouth delays, and declares himſelf King.

The Duke of Monmouth, being accuſtomed to the formalities obſerved by regular troops in time of peace, more than to actual war, and not poſſeſſed of genius to ſee, that, in deſperate enterpriſes, ſudden movements ſtrike with terror, but that by delays, men recollect their ſpirits, and in the variety of theſe, come to contemn that danger which at firſt they dreaded, would not permit his adherents, who were 6000 in number, and keenly affected to his cauſe, to fight the militia under the Duke of Abemarle, who were only 4000 in number, and averſe from the intereſt which they were called to defend. With a view to form his men to diſcipline, his marches were ſlow, his reſts many: Still, as he advanced, he found the numbers encreaſe of the commonalty who offered him their ſervice. Some of the inferior gentry too joined him. At Taunton, the people ſtrewed his way with flowers and herbs; followed him with acclamations and prayers; adorned their walls with green boughs; and threw open their houſes to his army. Twenty-ſix young maidens, in the name of the town, preſented him, on their knees, with a bible and a banner. Monmouth, whoſe ſenſibility of temper was too apt to receive impreſſions either of exultation or dejection, was touched with theſe demonſtrations of affection: The preſent of the bible he regarded as an omen of his future fortune. Kiſſing the book, he cried out, "He "came to defend the truths contained in it; or, to ſeal "them

"them with his blood." And, in this ſympathy of mind, he was prevailed upon to yield to the entreaties of many of his followers, who were clamorous that he ſhould be proclaimed King. The argument made uſe of, and which it was given out had convinced him, was, that the two parties were not upon a level, if, when the one was declared guilty of rebellion by royal proclamations, the other could not intimidate its opponents with the ſame legal weapons. The immediate exertions of his royalty, were imprudent. He proclaimed Albemarle a traitor, if he did not lay down his arms: He proclaimed all the members of the parliament traitors, if they did not diſſolve themſelves. The very generality of the threat defeated his deſign, by inſuring thoſe of impunity whom it meant to intimidate. 1685. June 20.

While Monmouth was engaged in ſuch trifles, the Generals on the King's ſide had orders to avoid fighting, for the ſame reaſons which ſhould have impelled the Duke to force them to battle. And, in the mean while, James got time to reinforce his army, to obtain an order for the Britiſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice, to increaſe his army in England to 15,000 men, to receive the aſſurances of parliament for his defence, and the more ſolid effects of them, a grant of 400,000 *l.* for the ſervices of war. James takes advantage of Monmouth's delays.

The Duke of Monmouth marched towards Briſtol, a city abounding in money, arms, ſtores, and in his own friends, intending to make an attempt upon it, becauſe he was aſſured of aſſiſtance within: But the Duke of Beaufort, having declared to the citizens, that he would ſet fire to the town, if they made an inſurrection, Monmouth is reported to have ſaid, "God forbid, that I "ſhould bring the two calamities of ſword and fire to-"gether upon ſo noble a city!" and marched towards Bath. Sentiments ſuch as theſe, were not the means, in times Monmouth in deſpair; he retires.

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times of war, to make towns open their gates; and therefore, when he arrived at Bath, and ſummoned it to ſurrender, the citizens ſhut their gates, killed his herald, and returned a defiance.

From Bath he returned to Frome, where he received, all at one time, intelligence of Argyle's defeat, of the arrival of the Dutch regiments at Graveſend, and that Lord Feverſham, with 3000 regular forces, and 30 pieces of cannon, was in full march to give battle to him, who was furniſhed with neither. He then, at laſt, perceived the error of his former delays, and the deluſions of his viſionary monarchy: He heſitated; now yielding to, and anon ſtruggling againſt his deſpondency; while, on the one hand, he obſerved the deſperate ſtate of his affairs; and, on the other, conſidered the ruin of his friends, and the grievouſneſs of his fall, from the eſtate of a King to that of a fugitive. He aſked advice of all perſons who approached him: He called a council of his officers; and in the mean time, wrote preſſingly to Danvers, to haſten his operations in the city *. Danvers, pretending to take offence at his aſſuming the crown, anſwered, "He was "not obliged to keep faith with one who had broken it "with him." But, before this anſwer arrived, it had been reſolved in the council to retire to Bridgewater, in order to wait for a return from Danvers, or to get the better opportunity for a flight beyond ſeas, if that return ſhould prove unfavourable. Feverſham followed him to Bridgewater. In this retreat, the puſillanimous left him; but moſt of his army, and all the brave part of it, remained with him. Many ſymptoms they diſcovered of feeling for him, what they felt not for themſelves: A generoſity which pierced the tender mind of Monmouth.

Battle of Sedgemoor.

At Bridgewater, he mounted to the top of a high tower, to take the laſt view of a country, which he foreſaw

* Lord Grey.

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he ſo ſoon muſt quit. When there, he eſpied, by the aſſiſtance of glaſſes, at three miles off, that Feverſham's horſe and foot at Sedgemoor lay at a diſtance from each other, and both careleſsly encamped, from over-ſecurity with reſpect to a flying enemy. He reſolved in an inſtant to attack them that night in the dark. The plan he formed was prompt and wiſe: He reſerved to himſelf the attack of the foot who lay neareſt him; and ordered Grey, with part of the horſe, to make a circuit to a village in which Feverſham's cavalry lay, and ſet fire to the village, in order to diſtract his cavalry, and with the reſt to fall on the back of the infantry, while Monmouth was attacking them in front. Captain Matthews reminded him of Grey's behaviour at Bridport; but, from the eaſineſs and over-delicacy of his nature, he anſwered, "I will not affront my "Lord; what I have given him in charge is eaſy to be "executed." Grey, by ſome miſconduct, for which he never accounted, miſcarried in his attempt againſt the horſe, and fled; ſo that the Duke of Monmouth had to maintain the whole attack with his foot. Captain Hucker, who had joined him in England, fired a piſtol in advancing, in order to give an alarm to the enemy; and then rode off to take the benefit of the King's pardon; by which accident Feverſham's army received the charge, not unprepared. The Duke's irregulars found a ditch before the royaliſts, which they did not expect; but forced their way over it, and attacked with intrepidity. Feverſham's troops, as often happens in combats with an irregular army, at firſt gave way, all except Lord Dumbarton's companies of Scotch: But the Duke, by his care to keep his men in order, and to make them fire with regularity, inſtead of ruſhing into the ranks of their enemies with their ſwords, the only weapons by which the ſuperiority which diſcipline gives to regular over irregular armies can be avoided, loſt the advantage: The enemy rallied. At this

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this fight, the Duke's followers loſt all regard to the orders of their General. Every man preſſed where he thought his preſence was moſt needed, but chiefly where he eſpied the braveſt of his friends; uſing ſometimes the muſket, ſometimes the ſword, and often, in the fury of civil diſſenſion, grappling with the body, when weapons failed. But, finding they made little impreſſion, by this deſultory engagement, they formed themſelves into a ſolid body; and, laying their ſhoulders cloſe to each other, and every man encouraging his neighbour, they advanced, ſtopped, fought, and died together. In this various kind of battle, they maintained their attack for three hours; every ſoldier and officer behaving as if the fate of the battle depended on his ſingle arm, and not on the army to which he belonged. At length, Feverſham's cannon were brought to bear on one of the Duke's flanks, making the greater impreſſion on account of the thick order into which his men had gathered themſelves; and, at the ſame time, the horſe, wearied with purſuing Grey, returned, and fell on his rear. Yet his ſoldiers, although one third of them were fallen, bore thoſe redoubled diſadvantages, until all their ammunition was ſpent; and even then rather ceaſed to fight, than to keep their ground. The Duke fled; his army only retreated. He gallopped from the field of battle for twenty miles together, not knowing where he was going: And then quitted his horſe, not reſolved where to go. Two days after he was taken without reſiſtance, near Ringwood in Dorſetſhire, lying in a ditch covered with ferns, in the habit of a peaſant: Some green peaſe, on which he had ſupported life, were found in his pocket, together with his George of diamonds. He had not ſlept for three nights: From exhauſtion of ſpirits, he fainted and wept *.

Monmouth taken.

* Gazettes. Ralph, with the authorities he refers to.

When

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Account of Monmouth's letter to the King.

When Monmouth was taken, he wrote a letter to James, preſſing earneſtly to be brought into his preſence; and aſſuring him, that he had a ſecret of the utmoſt conſequence to his ſafety to communicate, but which could be imparted only to himſelf. This letter has given occaſion for various conjectures. It cannot be doubted, that the Prince of Orange might have ſtopped the preparations of Monmouth: And D'Avaux, ſo late as the 17th of April, wrote to his court, that he had diſcovered a ſecret correſpondence of letters between Monmouth and Bentinck the Prince's favourite *. On the contrary, Monmouth's letter to James † diſproves the imputation of any perſonal concert between the Prince of Orange and him: For in that letter he appeals to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, that he had often given them aſſurances he would never act againſt the King, and lays his own breach of duty upon the inſtigations of others. But there is good reaſon to believe, that the ſecret to which he alluded,

* Father Orleans relates, that Skelton, the Engliſh envoy in Holland, found the correſpondence between Monmouth and Bentinck among Monmouth's papers. The authority of Orleans is in general ambiguous; for, on the one hand, there is no doubt he got many facts from King James's mouth; but, on the other, when that Prince read his book, he ſaid "Cela "ne vaut pas grandes choſes;" and therefore, in order to try ſo capital a fact by the trueſt teſt, that of original papers, I went to the paper office for Skelton's correſpondence with Sunderland; but Skelton's letters from Holland at this time have not been ſent by Sunderland to the ſecretary's office. The reaſon of which, as well as of ſome other chaſms in the foreign correſpondence of that Lord, at an equally critical period, will be ſeen in a ſubſequent part of theſe Memoirs.

Lord Grey, who had been engaged in a plot to ſeize Charles II.'s perſon during the ſitting of the Oxford parliament, in the Ryehouſe-plot, and in Monmouth's rebellion, whilſt he was a priſoner in the Tower for the laſt of theſe crimes, wrote a relation of his treaſons by Sunderland's command, for the uſe of King James. In this relation, he makes no mention of the connection between Monmouth and Bentinck. Some perſons impute, to the prudence of this ſilence, the pardon which Sunderland obtained for him from King James, and the earldom and great offices beſtowed on him by King William.

† It is in Ralph, 833.

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was the correſpondence which Sunderland held with the Prince of Orange, and that he had himſelf been encouraged by Sunderland to his fatal enterpriſe *. Sheldon, of the King's chamber, brother to General Sheldon, related to many, after the revolution, a ſtory, the truth of which James alſo vouched: Sheldon having been ſent by the King to the army with a meſſage to Lord Feverſham concerning his priſoner, which Monmouth thought a kind one, Monmouth deſired Sheldon to communicate thoſe two ſecrets to his maſter. While Sheldon was beginning to inform James of what had paſſed, Sunderland came into the cloſet: Sheldon ſtopped: James bade him go on: Sheldon anſwered, he had a meſſage from Monmouth, which could be delivered only in private: But James inſiſting that Sunderland ſhould be privy to every thing which paſſed between him and the Duke of Monmouth, Sheldon obeyed. Sunderland, throwing himſelf upon his knee, cried out with emotion, "Your Majeſty "ſees to what calumnies I am expoſed by my zeal for "your ſervice." It is equally certain, that James, during his exile, believed, that after he had conſented to ſee Monmouth, Sunderland ſent Monmouth a private meſſage, in which he informed him, that the King's conſenting to ſee him aroſe from his reſolution to pardon him, and in which he adviſed him not to hurt his own honour by betraying his friends when there was no neceſſity for it, but to pretend a deſire of changing his religion, to give ſatisfaction to the King.

The King ſees him. July 14.

The day after Monmouth arrived at the Tower, he was carried by water to the preſence chamber at Whitehall, his arms being bound behind with a ſilken cord, but his hands free. He threw himſelf at the King's feet, owned

* What Sunderland's reaſons were for adviſing Monmouth to ſo wild an attempt, may be known in future ages: At preſent there are no hiſtorical lights to clear up the miſt.

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the greatneſs of his offence, and, with many tears, begged his life, reminding James, "That in ſhedding his nephew's blood, he ſhed his own:" A commemoration of connection, which, in the hour of friendſhip, would have given pleaſure, now increaſed the averſion of the King; and he heard and ſaw his agonies with a ſtern inſenſibility. The Duke offered to become catholic;—a flattery which provoked James, by ſuppoſing he could be the dupe of it. He communicated no ſecret; and James believed he had none to communicate. All was ſilence for a while on the King's part. Yet, from that ſilence, the Duke derived hopes. Theſe hopes increaſed, when he was deſired to ſign a declaration, importing, that the late King aſſured him he was never married to his mother. He obeyed. James then deſired him to name all his accomplices; and, when he heſitated, loaded him with reproaches. The Duke, in a tranſport of paſſion, ſtarts from the ground, and quits the royal preſence with the air of an equal.

Account of his other letters to the King.

When he came back to the Tower, the love of life returned: He aſked for paper, pen and ink, to write again to his uncle. Scott, of Dunbarton's regiment, one of the officers who guarded him, told him, that he had orders not to permit him to write: But upon the Duke's repeating earneſtly his requeſt, Scott, who was of the Ducheſs of Monmouth's family, conſented. Monmouth, in this letter, again warned the King againſt Sunderland. But Blood, who had an office in the Tower, either the ſame man who had ſtolen the crown in the late reign, or his ſon, ſuſpecting Scott from his continuing ſo long with the Duke, forced him, by menaces, to deliver up the letter *, and carried it to Sunderland, who deſtroyed

* Scott was of Mr. Scott of Harden's family. He was afterwards a Colonel in the French ſervice. There are men now living in Scotland, to whom he told this ſtory.

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it. Orders were given for the Duke's execution next day. Monmouth, rendered impatient by the flatteries of a fortune-teller, who assured him, that if he outlived that day, he was designed by Providence for great things, wrote a third letter to James, to beg a short respite of his execution. This letter was delivered by Sunderland; but the prayer of it was refused.

Anecdotes.

The Duke discovered compunction for the neglect with which he had treated his lady, who, though not beautiful, was possessed of wit and tenderness, and had brought him one of the greatest fortunes in Europe; and he desired to see her alone. Affecting distance from his treasons, and regard for her children, but in reality stung with slighted love, even in death, she refused to see him unless witnesses were present. Yet, by the tenderness of her affection, and her repeated applications for mercy, she performed every duty of a wife and a friend. It is a family report, that on the morning of her husband's execution, James sent her a message, that he would breakfast with her. She admitted the visit, believing that a pardon was to accompany it. James behaved with fondness to her children, and delivered her a grant of her husband's estate, which had fallen to the crown by his attainder: Strange mixture of indelicacy and generosity *!

Monmouth's execution. 15th July.

Monmouth was not condemned by the judges, lest the sight of him in a court might excite commiseration. At his execution, the spectators were innumerable. On his first appearance upon the scaffold, he bowed to the people, by whom, he knew, he was tenderly beloved; but, from regard to the decorum of his rank, addressed them not. Deep silences succeeded alternately to murmurs of sighs and groans in the spectators, who felt their grief restrained by respect when they looked upon Monmouth; but burst into tears, as oft as they beheld the sorrowful looks of each other. Men of rank are more afraid of pain than of

* Lord Fountainhall's manuscript memorandums.

death,

death, and of ſhame than of either. He expreſſed anxiety leſt the executioner ſhould not end his life at a blow, examining the ax to ſatisfy himſelf; and ſaid, "He was "afraid to die;" yet aſked, "Could any one perceive it "by his countenance?" The executioner, awed by the rank of his victim, after ſeveral ineffectual ſtrokes, threw away the ax, and could with difficulty be prevailed on to complete his duty. The people, in their tears and prayers, and the contortions of their bodies, ſeemed to feel thoſe ſtrokes which the Duke no longer felt. Thoſe, who conſidered the various turns of human things, reflected, that the multitudes who attended his execution would, in a different ſituation of his fortune, have been ſhouting after the wheels of his chariot. The decent courage with which he died, ſhewed how much force the ſentiments of perſonal dignity have over thoſe of nature in men of illuſtrious birth. In his pockets, after his death, were found ſpells againſt danger, ſongs, and prayers, in his own hand-writing;—papers characteriſtic of a mind addicted to ambition, pleaſure, and ſuperſtition. The fondneſs of the common people followed Monmouth even beyond the grave: They believed that one of his friends, reſembling him, had conſented to loſe his life in public, to ſave that of Monmouth. They ſtarted at every rumour of his name; and long expected with impatience when their favourite ſhould again call them to aſſert his cauſe and their own. Lord Dartmouth, by order of James, attended the execution. When he gave an account of it to the King, he ſaid, "You have got "rid of one enemy; but a more dangerous one remains "behind." James pretended not to underſtand that his ſon-in-law was alluded to; yet the words ſunk deep into his mind.

1685.

A relation of Monmouth's

Two relations were printed by the King's authority; one of the manner of Monmouth's falling into the hands of

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1685. misery published by the King.

of those who pursued him, and the other of his execution, the last of which was signed by the bishops who attended him. In these was described every thing which Monmouth had said or done during those painful periods. Here it was said, "He had taken shelter in a covert surrounded with hedges, but full of outlets to the open country. Of these outlets the guards had taken possession; so that as often as he approached them, which was thirty times, he had been driven back into his concealments." There it was said, "The bishops had pressed him to repent of his connection with Lady Harriot Wentworth; but he had treated his passion for that lady as a matter of respect; and the last act of his life was to send her a love-token. The bishops had pressed him to own on the scaffold to the people, the doctrine of non-resistance; but he answered, He came there to die, not to make speeches. They urged him to pray for the King; but he kept silent. They asked him to join in their prayer for the King: With a careless air he said, Amen." Men were astonished to see, that the person who had the most interest in decency to draw a veil over the agonies of his nephew, was the most anxious to discover them. These things struck the nation with impressions of the severity of James's character. A saying of Ayloffe was everywhere repeated: Ayloffe had stabbed himself in Scotland to escape punishment; but, having recovered, was brought into the royal presence, in hopes that discoveries might be drawn from him. James pressed him to a confession, saying, "You know, Mr. Ayloffe, it is in my power to give you a pardon; therefore say that which may deserve it." Ayloffe answered, "Though it is in your power, it is not in your nature to pardon." Ayloffe had been reproached by Lord Dumbarton for his intend-

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ed ſuicide. "I am ſorry for it," ſaid Ayloffe, "becauſe it is the only cowardly thing I ever did *."

1685.

A few days after Argyle had landed in Scotland, the parliaments of England and Scotland had aſſembled. From the reſpect naturally paid to a new reign, with the hopes it inſpires and the fears it impreſſes, moſt of the members returned were men who were thought to be agreeable to the court; yet the anxiety of the people had mingled with them a great number of the popular party †. Thoſe, by their principles, ſhould have been inclined to promote, and theſe to oppoſe, the views of the King. But this parliament exhibited a ſtate of parties which had never before been ſeen in England. Under proteſtant princes, the intereſts of the King and of the church having been the ſame, the friends of both were united in favour of the crown;—a connection which produced the ſaying of James I. "No Biſhop, no King." But, under a Prince who publicly profeſſed the popiſh religion, many of the tories ſmothered their attachment to monarchy, and their antipathy to popular innovations, in their fears for religion: And hence in this parliament, the diſtinction between a ſtate-tory and a church-tory firſt appeared in public. Many of the whig members, on the other hand, hoped, by making reaſonable conceſſions to the crown, to gain the king to his people, and reconcile him to themſelves ‡.

State of parliament.

* Lord Fountainhall's manuſcript memorandums.

† Vide the liſt in Eachard, p. 744. and the Duke of Monmouth's letter in Welwood, p. 378.

‡ The Duke of Monmouth's letter to his confident Spence contains theſe words: "It's to me a vain argument, that our enemies are ſcarce yet well "ſettled, when you conſider, That fear in ſome, and ambition in others, "have brought them to comply; and that the parliament being made up for "the moſt part of members that formerly run our enemy down, they will "be ready to make their peace as ſoon as they can, rather than hazard "themſelves upon an uncertain bottom."

The

PART I. BOOK II.

1685. Opening of parliament.

The ambiguity of James's intentions in the few ſteps he had taken; the hopes raiſed by ſome of them; the jealouſies not removed by others; produced an anxiety in the minds of all men, to hear the firſt words of the ſovereign from the throne to the great council of the nation. James being graceful in figure, and in public though not in private ſpeech, all eyes were fixed upon him when he roſe; but uncertain of his ſentiments, his ſubjects checked the natural effuſions of favour to dignity and majeſty, until they ſhould hear what he was to ſay. He began with repeating, and pathetically, the ſame words he had made uſe of on the firſt day of his reign in his declaration to his privy council, to maintain the eſtabliſhed laws and religion: The audience looked with joy and with pride, alternately on their ſovereign and on each other. He then urged reaſons of ſtate for the ſettlement of the late King's revenue upon himſelf: Murmurs of aſſent were heard through the hall. But when he concluded with hints ſo ſtrongly marked, that they were in reality threats, of governing by prerogative, and not by parliaments, if that revenue was denied, the looks of men, which in popular aſſemblies can never be diſguiſed, ſunk at once into diſappointment and dejection. His concluding words were theſe: "There is one popular argument which I foreſee "may be uſed againſt what I ſeek of you, from the in- "clination men have for frequent parliaments, which "ſome may think would be the beſt ſecured, by "feeding me from time to time by ſuch proportions "as they ſhall think convenient. And this argument "(it being the firſt time I ſpeak to you from the "throne) I will anſwer once for all: That this "would be a very improper method to take with me; "and that the beſt way to engage me to meet you "often, is always to uſe me well. I expect, therefore,

"that you will comply with me in what I have desired, "and that you will do it speedily, that this may be a short "session, and that we may meet again to all our satis- "factions."

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Revenue settled.

The leaders of the different parties in parliament, however, had gone too far in the communication of their sentiments and intentions, to be able to retract. The tories urged the interests of the crown for the settlement of the revenue: The whigs perhaps flattered themselves, that by granting with frankness what they were not able to with-hold, they should throw the greater odium upon the King, if, in return for parliamentary confidence, he should make any invasion upon the civil or religious institutions established by parliament. All were sensible, that the necessities of the late King had obliged him to apply to France for relief. Many were pleased with the report at that time industriously spread about, that James had detached himself from Louis XIV. and joined interests with the Prince of Orange: And some were afraid lest their opposition might be construed into an inclination to favour the projects of Monmouth and Argyle, which were not then suppressed. The house of commons therefore voted the settlement of the late King's revenue, amounting to £ 1,200,000, upon James during life, on the same day that he asked it; and, soon after, upon his application for a further provision for public uses, they revived some old, granted some new impositions, and settled both upon him for life. By these grants, added to his own settlement as Duke of York, he was possessed of an annual revenue of two millions a year, besides the revenues of Scotland and Ireland: A revenue greater than any King of England had possessed from the time of William the Conqueror's death.

Dispute about religion.

But though the commons discovered so much confidence in the King in money matters, some distrust of

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him appeared with regard to religion *. A motion was made for the further ſecurity of the proteſtant religion: It was referred to the grand committee for religion: The committee, when very full, reſolved unanimouſly to move the houſe "to ſtand by the King in the ſupport "and defence of the *reformed religion of the church of* "*England* with their lives and fortunes;" and to addreſs him "to put the laws in execution *againſt all diſſenters* "*whatſoever* from the church of England." The court oppoſed the motion: A vehement debate enſued; but the diſpute was compromiſed by a reſolution of the houſe, which, at the ſame time that it paid the King the compliment of an unbounded confidence, was meant to intimate to him the firm attachment of thoſe who framed it to the religion of their country. The reſolution was in theſe words: "That the houſe relies on his Majeſty's "word and repeated declaration, to ſupport and defend "the religion of the church of England, as it is now by "law eſtabliſhed, which is dearer to us than our lives." Leſt the laſt words of this reſolution ſhould not make ſufficient impreſſion on James, the ſpeaker, when he preſented the revenue-bill, remarked, that the commons had paſſed that bill, without joining any bill to it for the ſecurity of their religion, though *that was dearer to them than their lives.* James took no notice of theſe words, either in the addreſs of the commons, or in the ſpeech of their ſpeaker.

The houſes differ about the reverſal of Stafford's attainder.

In the houſe of lords, an attempt was made to pleaſe the King, in a way of all others the moſt agreeable to him. Oates had lately been pilloried, whipped, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment, in conſequence of a clear proof, that he had perjured himſelf in the evidence which he gave in the late reign, in ſupport of the popiſh

* Journ. houſe of commons, May 27.

plot.

plot. Upon this a motion was made in the houſe of lords to reverſe the attainder of Lord Stafford, becauſe, by the conviction of Oates, it was now become plain, that the evidence on which Stafford had been condemned was falſe, and even the popiſh plot itſelf a mere fiction. The principles of mercy, juſtice, and religion, called aloud for reparation to Stafford's memory and family. On the other hand, that reparation could not be made without throwing diſgrace upon four ſucceeding parliaments, which had proſecuted and puniſhed the plot as a reality, and upon the whole party of the whigs, and many of the tories. The debate laſted three days in the houſe of lords. Honour prevailed in men of noble birth, and they voted to reverſe the attainder. But prudential conſiderations prevailed among the commons: Reflecting, that no popiſh victories could with ſafety be indulged in a popiſh reign, they received the bill with coldneſs; and after the firſt reading, it was dropped: Soon after, the parliament was adjourned until winter.

Exceſs of loyalty in S. ottiſh parliament.

But while the members of the Engliſh parliament were taking delicate and guarded meaſures to gain their ſovereign, and yet not to loſe their own characters, the parliament of Scotland, which met a little before that of England, had ruſhed into ſervility with a promptitude which leſſened, even in the King's eyes, the value of the compliment, and with an affectation of zeal which created in the public a ſuſpicion of its ſincerity. In proportion as any man was high in his birth or ſtation, or even character, he ſtrove for expreſſions of flattery and motions of ſervility. Men of inferior figure vied with each other, who ſhould be the firſt to propoſe what had not been thought of by their ſuperiors, leſt they ſhould appear to have been only led in the general ſurrender, which they foreſaw was to be made of their country's rights.

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James, in his letter to the parliament, made a diſtinction between them and his Engliſh ſubjects, which could not be pleaſing to the latter: For he ſaid, that he had called them together "to give them an opportunity, not only "of ſhewing their duty as formerly to him, but of being "*exemplary to others* in their compliance with his deſires:" And, to make his meaning plain to both nations, when he ſpoke of the extent of his prerogative, he added theſe words: "Which I am reſolved to maintain in its greateſt "luſtre." The Lord Chancellor Perth concluded his ſpeech with exhorting the parliament to advance the greatneſs of the King "by all the endeavours of their lives "without reſerve." As the terms which men made uſe of in public, when they ſpoke of the ſtate or prerogative of the crown, were at that time marked, becauſe they were the tokens of party ſentiments, it was obſerved how ſimilar theſe words, *without reſerve*, were to the concluſion of the Oxford addreſs, which promiſed obedience to the King *without any reſtrictions or limitations*. The ſpeech of the Duke of Queenſberry, the King's commiſſioner, and the tone of all thoſe who could be ſuppoſed to ſpeak the language of the court, were full of promiſes to the national intereſt, and of flattery to the national character of the Scotch.

The Scotch, in this parliament, renewed the laws againſt proteſtant diſſenters, and added new ſeverities to them: They extended the laws of treaſon: They obliged all the ſubjects, under high penalties, to take the oath of allegiance, which maintained the doctrine of paſſive obedience; an oath which, in the late reign, had been impoſed only on perſons in public truſt: They ſettled the late King's revenue upon the Crown for ever; and gave James a new one during his own life: They paſſed an act, in which it was ſaid, "The bleſſings the nation then en-"joyed, were owing to the *ſolid abſolute authority* where-"with

"with their Kings were inveſted, by the firſt and fundamental laws of their monarchy." In this act, "They "expreſſed their abhorrence of all principles which are "contrary or derogatory to the King's *ſacred, ſupreme, "abſolute power and authority.*" And they reſolved "to "give entire obedience to the King, *without reſerve.*"— But the act contained ſomething more ſolid than the expreſſion of principles: For it obliged all the men in the nation, from ſixteen to ſixty, "to be in readineſs to attend the King in arms, where, and as oft as he ſhould "require."

Sentiments of the Scottiſh nation.

The noiſe of this exceſs of loyalty in the parliament of Scotland ſoon reached England, creating every where jealouſies and fear. But theſe proceedings of the Scotch parliament were found, and no more. By the conſtitution of that aſſembly, it was no repreſentation of the ſentiments of the great body of the nation; becauſe the commons made no ſeparate aſſembly. By the forms in which buſineſs was conducted, its acts were not even repreſentations of its own ſentiments; becauſe the Lords of articles had a negative before debate *. But the ſentiments of the Scottiſh nation were far different from thoſe expreſſed to the public in the proceedings of this parliament. Many in the higher ranks of the nation, reflected upon the independence of their anceſtors, national glories, their own importance loſt. The lower orders of the people, which conſiſted moſtly of preſbyterians, cheriſhed in their breaſts ſecret and deliberate revenge for the puniſhment of their perſons, and the proſcription of their religion. The preſbyterian clergy, who alone were popular, oppreſſed by the government, but ſupported by the people, found their pleaſure and their intereſt in complaining. So that, with the appearance of a whole nation, and a warlike one,

* Vide an account of the conſtitution of the Lords of articles in Part 2d of theſe Memoirs.

at

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at James's feet, the only perſons in whom he could confide in Scotland, were the perſonal friends he had gained whilſt he reſided there *; and theſe indeed were numerous and firm; the Roman Catholics who were few in number; and the ſervants of the crown; and, in many of theſe laſt, he could no longer confide, than it was for their intereſt to ſupport him. Theſe proceedings in Scotland, therefore, only betrayed to the Engliſh the inclinations and views of James, but gave no additional ſtrength to the monarch.

Kirk's cruelty in the weſt.

While the parliaments of both kingdoms were, in the capitals, vying with each other, in giving proofs of their affection to the King, ſcenes of a very different nature were paſſing in the remoter counties of England. Feverſham, after Monmouth's defeat, hanged up, without any trial, twenty priſoners; and Colonel Kirk, nineteen.—Kirk, with a ſavage refinement, made a ſport of the murders he committed. Having a gallows erected at his

* James gained numbers of the Scotch by familiarity. He had long diſguſted them by his diſtance: The change in his manners was owing to an accident: When the Dutcheſs of York came firſt to Scotland, ſhe one day obſerved three covers upon the dining table. She aſked the Duke for whom the third cover was intended? He anſwered, For General Dalziel, whom he had aſked to dine with him. The Dutcheſs refuſed to permit a private gentleman to ſit at table with her. Dalziel, who had been in the Imperial ſervice, entered the room in the mean time; and, hearing the ſcruples of the Dutcheſs, told her, he had dined at a table where her father had ſtood at his back; alluding to the Duke of Modena's being a vaſſal of the Emperor. The Dutcheſs felt the reproof, and adviſed her huſband not to offend the pride of proud men.

Dalziel was a ſingular character of the laſt age. He once ſtruck an officer on the parade: The officer waited on him next day, and deſired him to receive his commiſſion. "I underſtand you," ſaid Dalziel; "you are entitled to ſatisfaction, and you ſhall have it." They exchanged ſhots. The officer fired a ſecond time, and then called to Dalziel to do ſo. The General anſwered, "It will be to little purpoſe: I did not charge with ball: God "forbid I ſhould injure you twice." The officer advancing ſaid, "I have "got too much ſatisfaction, and I beg back my commiſſion."

door, he uſed, while drinking with his companions, to order the execution of his priſoners to accompany the glaſs that was drunk to the health of the King, or the Queen, or Judge Jeffreys. When he ſaw the feet of the dying ſhake, in the laſt agonies of departing life, he ſaid, "They ſhould have muſic to their dancing;" and ordered his trumpets to ſound, and his drums to ſtrike up. He let looſe his ſoldiers to live on free quarter in the country, without diſtinction between the innocent and the guilty; and theſe inſtruments of his violence he named, in deriſion, "His lambs." Theſe proceedings were, in the eye of law, robberies and murders; yet in the violence of civil rage, neither the court nor the officers of the law took notice of them.

Jeffreys, now ennobled, was the judge who tried the priſoners on the weſtern circuit: A man cruel in his temper, brutal in his manner, and a contemner of every thing that is decent. A power was given to him in his commiſſion, to command the forces in the weſt; ſo that the terrors both of the law and of the ſword were united in his perſon. In this circuit, he ſhed that blood with pleaſure, which the law intends ſhould be ſhed with pain. In his preliminary charge to the grand jury at Dorcheſter, where he firſt opened the trials, he charged them to enquire after "not only all principals," but "all *aiders and* "*abettors* of thoſe who had been concerned in the rebel-"lion:" A charge which moulded the jury-men to his will, by the conſideration of their perſonal ſafeties; becauſe there were few of them who had not given refuge to their friends or relations in diſtreſs. He preſſed the priſoners to confeſs, "to ſave himſelf trouble," as he expreſſed it. And ſome of thoſe who reſiſted his entreaties, and were found guilty, he ordered to be executed the ſame day, in order to intimidate others from following their example. His officers had orders to prevail upon the

Jeffreys's cruelty.

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the priſoners to confeſs, with promiſes of pardon: When the priſoners adhered in court to their confeſſion, they were condemned to be hanged: When they retracted, theſe officers were evidences at hand to prove the confeſſion. Bragg, an attorney, having been found guilty, Jeffreys declared with a jeſt, "That, if any lawyer or "parſon came in his way, they ſhould not eſcape him." One of the priſoners moving an objection to a witneſs, Jeffreys interrupted him with theſe words: "Villain, re- "bel, methinks I ſee thee already with a halter round "thy neck." The evidence againſt Mr. Hewling being doubtful, the juſtice of peace, who had given information againſt him, remarked it to Jeffreys, and interceded in his behalf. Jeffreys anſwered, "You have brought "him on; if he be innocent, his blood be upon you." When this gentleman's ſiſters * hung on the wheels of his coach, to beg mercy for their brother, he ordered his coachman to cut their arms and hands with his whip.—The mayor of Taunton interpoſed with Jeffreys for Speke, a gentleman in whoſe caſe there were circumſtances of favour. "No," cried Jeffreys, with a violent motion of his arm, "his family owes a life, and he "ſhall die for the ſake of his name." Yet one of Jeffreys's executions eſcaped cenſure. Hucker, who had given the alarm to Feverſham's army, when Monmouth was advancing upon it, pleaded his treachery in alleviation of his rebellion: But Jeffreys told him, "He deſerved a double "death; one for rebelling againſt his ſovereign, and the "other for betraying his friends †."

Execution of Lady Liſle and Mrs. Gaunt.

In the courſe of theſe trials, a ſad ſpectacle was exhibited: Two women were condemned to be burnt alive,

* Granger Biog. Hiſt. v. 2. p. 543.

† A Lady interceded on her knees for the life of Mr. Battiſon her lover: Jeffreys anſwered, "When he is quartered, you ſhall have that part of his "body which I know you like beſt." Ralph, with the authorities he quotes.

for

or indulging the ſweeteſt of female virtues, compaſſion for the diſtreſſed. Mrs. Gaunt, a tradeſwoman in the city, had formerly ſaved the life of one of her neighbours, named Burton, who had been engaged in the Rye-houſe-plot, by getting him conveyed beyond ſea. This man having eſcaped from the battle in which Monmouth was defeated, ſhe prepared a ſecond time to ſhew him the ſame kindneſs, and ſupplied him with money beſides. Burton, being afraid that his eſcape beyond ſea might be prevented, turned upon his benefactreſs, and became evidence againſt her. Men of all parties exclaimed, "That "the manners were corrupted by the laws; for that per- "fidy was protected and generoſity puniſhed." Lady Liſle had given refuge to Hicks, a diſſenting clergyman, who had begged the protection of her houſe, and truſted his life in her hands. She was widow to Lord Liſle, one of the regicides, who, on that account, had been aſſaſſinated in Switzerland. She was taken by Colonel Penruddock, whoſe father had been adjudged to death by Lord Liſle, for his attachment to the royal cauſe. With equal ſpirit and tenderneſs, though above ſeventy years of age, ſhe exclaimed at her trial and execution, "I once "thought as little of being brought to this place as any "one here. The perſon whom I received under my "roof, was convicted by no ſentence, was mentioned in "no proclamation; how then could I know I was ob- "noxious to the law in receiving him? My own princi- "ples have ever been loyal. None in England ſhed "more tears for the death of the King's father than I "did. If I could have ventured my life for any thing, "it would have been to ſerve the preſent King: But, al- "though I could not fight for him, my ſon did, againſt "the Duke of Monmouth. I ſent the ſon to atone for "the offences of the father: It was I who bred him up "to fight for his Sovereign: With my laſt breath I will

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"bleſs that life which takes away mine *." Jeffreys, in his charge to the jury, admired the juſtice of God, which had made Penruddock the inſtrument of ſhedding blood for blood. The jury returned into court with doubts, becauſe there was no proof of her knowing that Hicks had been in the rebel army; but Jeffreys told them, that her receiving him, after ſhe ſuſpected it, was equivalent;—and, when they found her guilty, he ſaid †, "If ſhe had "been my mother, I would have returned the ſame ver-"dict againſt her." Two tory Peereſſes ‡ applied for her pardon, declaring that ſhe had done favours to their party, in their greateſt extremities: But Jeffreys, who thought that her acquittal would imply his own condemnation, had exacted a promiſe from James not to pardon her, by aſſuring him, that all her pretenſions to loyalty were falſe: The only favour ſhe obtained was to be beheaded, not burnt. One thouſand were condemned to die; of whom a fourth part fell by the hands of the executioner. The other puniſhments were numerous and rigid. The marks of vengeance remained, even when it could be exerted no longer: For, in the country villages where Jeffreys paſſed, places in which far other ſhews uſed to be ſeen, the heads and limbs of fathers and brothers were expoſed upon towers and gibbets, to the view of the inhabitants, who were perhaps themſelves the moſt humbling ſpectacle of the two: For fear ſuſpended in them all the duties of nature: In every neighbour they dreaded an informer, and were obliged to hide their grief, leſt their loyalty ſhould be doubted. Of all who were brought to trial for Monmouth's rebellion, Lord Delamere was the almoſt only man who was acquitted, and this only becauſe, being of noble birth, he was tried by a jury of nobles, who ſcorned to take

* Lady Liſle's trial and laſt ſpeech. † State trials, 513. vol. 3.
‡ Ibid. 514.

their

their directions from Jeffreys. Though guilty, he escaped by the crime of Saxton, one of the witnesses against him, who, from over-anxiety to reach the prisoner, involved himself in perjury. One of the King's letters to the Prince of Orange * concerning this vile person, marks the severity of his temper; for it expresses his intention to get Saxton pilloried by one trial for perjury, and hanged by another for rebellion. These severities of Jeffreys, frightful even to those to whom he committed their execution, were imputed, at the time, to the barbarity of his temper alone. But other causes of his conduct were brought to light in the next reign. It was then made appear, that he had exacted a present of 15,000 *l.* for himself from Mr. Prideaux, a Devonshire gentleman, for not bringing him to trial †. 1685.

A historian would chuse to draw a veil over the proceedings of Jeffreys, so painful to recite, did they not serve to remind the judges of other ages, that the decorum and dignity of princes should be mixed with the tenderness of women, in the expression of their manners.

The furies of Kirk and Jeffreys seemed at this time to have infected even those of milder professions: A clergyman of the church of England, having been entreated to apply for mercy in his brother's behalf, answered coldly, "I cannot speak for a fanatic." Yet some there were who retrieved the national character of humanity: While

* Vid. Letter of January 15, 1686, in Appendix to this Book.

† Journals house of commons, Nov. 30, 1690. Jeffreys carried with him to the circuit a buffoon called Wiseman to amuse him. Wiseman complained to him one day in their cups, that though Jeffreys liked his company he took no care of him. Jeffreys happened at the time to have a list of the condemned persons in his hand. He threw it across the table, and desired Wiseman to pick out a person to be pardoned, adding "a word is enough to "a wise man." Wiseman, it may be well imagined, did not fix upon the poorest person in the list, and made his fortune. The amiable author of Hermes told me this story. His uncle, Colonel Beaumont, was in the company.

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other men of high figure in the church were pouring forth their zeal againſt rebellion at court, Kenne, biſhop of Bath and Wells, though unqueſtionable in his attachment to the King, and who, in proof of it, quitted his biſhopric in the next reign, continued in his dioceſe *, ſpending days and nights in prayers with the priſoners, relieving their wants, although he was poor himſelf, and reſpecting the principles of others, becauſe he had principles of his own.

In Scotland, only two executions followed that of Argyle; becauſe, as there had been no battle, there were few priſoners; becauſe the fidelity of the highlanders to each other prevented informers and their prejudices to the cauſe of their chieftain made them proper objects of pity to government; but chiefly becauſe there was no Jeffreys at that time in that country. About 200 were attainted: Moſt of theſe took refuge in Holland; and afterwards returned with the Prince of Orange, at the revolution.

The exceſſive rigour of puniſhment deſtroyed thoſe morals which it was intended to amend. There is a letter from Rumbold to Walcot, upon the diſcovery of the Ryehouſe-plot, ſtill exiſting †, in which he thanked Walcot for not betraying him. And yet Rumbold, in his laſt ſpeech at Edinburgh, denied the ſhare he had had in that plot; and his laſt words were theſe: "Death is "terrible indeed! But to me it has no terrors. With my "God I have made my peace: To no man have I done "injuſtice: What then have I to fear ‡?"

Proſecutions for the Ryehouſe-plot.

After ſo many trials for reeent, it was thought hard to begin new ones for former offences: Yet Corniſh, one of the obnoxious ſheriffs of the late reign, and Bateman,

* Life of Biſhop Kenne, p. 16, and 52.

† This letter is dated Auguſt 2, 1683, and is in the Paper-office. It laments the bad ſucceſs of the conſpiracy, thanks Walcot for concealing his name, and contains theſe words: "It is not unknown to any of us, with "what zeal and ſincerity you led us on, whilſt there was any hopes of "ſucceeding." ‡ Woodrow.

who

who had been ſurgeon to Shafteſbury, were both exe- PART I. BOOK II.
cuted for their acceſſion to the Ryehouſe plot; and Lord
Grey having conſented to become evidence againſt 1685.
his friends, which ſupplied a ſecond witneſs againſt
Hampden, Hampden was brought to a new trial, accuſed
of high treaſon, before the ſame judge, and for the ſame
offence, for which, as a miſdemeanour, he had been
already tried, convicted, and puniſhed. In deſpair, he
pleaded guilty. It was a ſad ſpectacle to the generous of
all parties, to ſee the grandſon of the great Hampden en-
treating the meaneſt of mankind to interpoſe with the
King for his life. Satisfied with the humiliation, becauſe
it was worſe than death, Jeffreys obtained his pardon
from James. Lord Brandon was convicted alſo of being
acceſſary to the Ryehouſe-plot, but pardoned on account
of his want of importance.

James's apologies for theſe cruelties.

The noiſe of the rigours of the weſtern circuit raiſed more pity and indignation than fear, in a nation brave, and therefore generous. Thoſe who were attached to the honour of the King, excuſed him, by ſaying, that he knew nothing of them till it was too late. The excuſe which James made for himſelf was, that he had ſent other judges with Jeffreys, and alſo Pollexfen, a man connected with the whigs, in quality of counſel for the crown: And at an after-period of his life, he indulged the ſtrange ſuſpicion, that Kirk's ſhare of theſe cruelties had been committed with a view to make his maſter odious. It is certain, that when Lord Keeper North made complaints of what Jeffreys was doing *, James gave orders to ſtop them; and that he complained until the day of his death †, of the unpopularity which Kirk and Jeffreys had drawn upon him. It is equally certain, that Jeffreys often followed his own opinion alone in matters within his department: For, when Major Holmes,

* Life of Lord North, p. 260. † Duke of Buckingham.

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who had been engaged in the Ryehouſe-plot, and in the late rebellion, was carried before James, that Prince, being ſtruck with his age, his manly look, and more manly manner, told him, he might make himſelf eaſy, no harm ſhould befall him. After this, Holmes was often ſeen in the antichamber at court; but, having been miſſed for ſome time, it was found, upon inquiry, that Jeffreys had cauſed him to be ſeized ſecretly in London, and conveyed to the circuit, where he was put to death. The King's enemies, on the other hand, reported a fact but too true *, that he was accuſtomed to repeat the cruelties of Jeffreys with jocularity to his courtiers in the circle; and that, in the ſame ſtrain, he called this circuit "Jeffreys's campaign." Soon after the return of Jeffreys to London, he was appointed Lord High Chancellor;—a promotion which diſcovered either approbation of his conduct, or too great a contempt of popularity in his maſter.

* Vide two of his letters to the Prince in Appendix to this Book, in the next Volume.

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